Durable Housing Inequalities

-How do urban poor cope with displacement (pressures)?

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Abstract

How do the urban poor cope with housing displacement? What kinds of strategies do the urban poor develop? And what elements shape which strategies they deploy? To answer these questions, I unpack the idea of strategies for "coping" with the threat or uncertainty of displacement to arrive at sociological conceptualizations of these strategies – ones anchored in Bourdieu's [1986] concept of capital as well as the application of Tilly's [1999] theory of durable inequalities to housing. Empirically, I identify and analyze the anti-displacement strategies of the urban poor within the complex housing contexts of São Paulo and Istanbul by breaking down the housing market into sub-housing markets (housing forms) as they are used by the urban poor in each local context. Combining existing analytic frameworks with my original data, I also speculate about the effects of the identified strategies for the urban poor in terms of durable housing inequalities.

Through observation, interviews, a questionnaire and secondary sources, I identify several housing forms within each city. Despite differences between the two cities, the housing forms also share important similarities as comparable sub-markets for the urban poor, such as the favelas in São Paulo and gecekondus in Istanbul or cortiços in São Paulo and the single room occupancy in Istanbul.

According to the analysis, the identified strategies to avoid displacement or improve housing are not positively impacting the urban poor or the housing environment in the long run. To account for this, in the second step of the analysis I argue that the majority of strategies align with the causes and reinforcement mechanisms of durable inequalities that Tilly identified. With "exploitation" as a systematic causal feature of housing inequality in contemporary, neoliberal capitalist housing markets, the urban poor are enacting this as well as the other processes that maintain durable housing inequalities – "opportunity hoarding," "emulation," and adaptation – when they transfer different types of capital in order to avoid displacement.

This is not to say no battles have been won or that no individual situations have improved, but to say that the larger picture of housing inequalities warrants little optimism. Even when some new housing forms create assets in form of economic capital (e.g., land titles), the urban poor don't seem to escape future displacement pressures. Therefore, although the anti-displacement strategies may temporarily ease displacement pressure, the durable inequalities of the housing market undermine substantial and sustainable change in the interest of the urban poor.

Zusammenfassung

Wie gehen die städtischen Armen mit Wohnraumverdrängung um? Welche Strategien entwickeln sie? Und welche Elemente bestimmen, welche Strategien die städtischen Armen einsetzen? Um diese Fragen zu beantworten, entpacke ich die Idee von ‚Strategien zur Bewältigung von Bedrohung durch Verdrängung', um zu soziologischen Konzeptualisierungen eben dieser Strategien zu gelangen. Dazu nutze ich einige der Konzepte in Bourdieus [1986] Kapitalbegriff sowie die Anwendung von Tillys [1999] Theorie der dauerhaften Ungleichheit als Rahmenkonzept. Empirisch identifiziere und analysiere ich die Anti-Verdrängungs-Strategien der städtischen Armen in den komplexen Wohnsituationen von São Paulo und Istanbul. Dazu unterteile ich den Wohnungsmarkt in den beiden Städten entsprechend der Wohnsituation der Forschungspartner in lokale Sub-Wohnungsmärkte (Wohnformen). Indem ich bestehende Analyserahmen mit meinen eigenen Daten, bestehend aus Beobachtungen, Interviews, Fragebogen und sekundäre Quellen, kombiniere, spekuliere ich auch über die Auswirkungen der ermittelten Strategien für die städtischen Armen im Hinblick auf dauerhafte Ungleichheiten im Wohnungsmarkt.

Der Analyse zufolge wirken sich die ermittelten Strategien zur Vermeidung von Verdrängung oder zur Verbesserung der Wohnsituation langfristig auf die Betroffenen oder den Wohnungsmarkt nicht positiv aus. Um dem Rechnung zu tragen, argumentiere ich im zweiten Schritt der Analyse, dass die Mehrheit der Strategien mit den Ursachen und Verstärkungsmechanismen der dauerhaften Ungleichheiten übereinstimmt, welche Tilly identifiziert hat. Mit der "Ausbeutung" als systematischem Kausalmerkmal der Wohnungsungleichheit in modernen, neoliberalen bzw. kapitalistischen Wohnungsmärkten, werden auch andere Prozesse, zum Beispiel die des „Chancen-Hortens", der „Adaption" und der „Emulation" seitens der städtischen Armen initiiert. Dadurch entsteht, wie ich in der Arbeit darlege, zwangsläufig der Prozess der andauernden Wohnungsungleichheit, der trotz der Bemühungen der städtischen Armen wenig Aussicht auf Veränderung zeigt.

Das heißt nicht, dass die städtischen Armen keine Kämpfe gewonnen haben oder dass sich nicht individuell ihre Situationen verbessert haben, sondern, dass das größere Bild der Ungleichheiten in der Wohnungswirtschaft wenig erfolgsversprechend ist. Selbst wenn einige neue Wohnformen, beispielsweise Vermögenswerte in Form von ökonomischem Kapital schaffen (z. B. Landtitel), scheinen die städtischen Armen dem zukünftigen Verdrängungsdruck nicht zu entkommen. Obwohl die Anti-Verdrängungs-Strategien somit den Verdrängungsdruck teilweise vorübergehend mildern können, untergraben die dauerhaften Ungleichheiten auf dem Wohnungsmarkt eine substanzielle und nachhaltige Veränderung im Interesse der städtischen Armen.

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Acknowledgements

Over the very few last weeks of writing my dissertation, while I was lost in that writing, I remembered that the dissertation is not the only reason why I began the journey of becoming Dr.Phil. Nor are the pages written within an all-encompassing representation of the research process outcomes. I started the journey because I wanted to look behind the curtains of the obvious, to better understand who I am, and to learn from the experiences of others what really matters in a world often ruled by consumption and exploitation. Becoming a PhD is more than writing or reading, it is a process, a journey into your deepest thoughts and beliefs, a challenge that makes you wonder about new things and therefore helps you grow beyond your former expectations. Now I realize that what I accomplished over the last three years was so much more than I expected: I was privileged to receive the love, companionship, passion, and friendship from people I hadn't known before. The last three years, with all their ups and down, were a precious gift of the opportunity to grow. For these opportunities to growth, I owe thanks to so many people in so many parts of the world.

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1. Introduction

Housing is one of the major institutions in the production or reproduction of social inequality and central to the experience of social (in)equality in the urban sphere. At least since industrialization in the western hemisphere, the "housing question" has attracted a great deal of scholarly and political attention. Engels, a pioneer in analyzing the socio-political dimensions of housing in London at the end of fore-last century, offers an insightful description of this problem:

> *"Every big city has one or several 'bad neighborhoods,' in which the working class is packed together. Often, though, poverty lives in hidden alleys close to the palaces of the wealthy; but in general, they are assigned an area apart, where they, displaced from of the sight of the luckier class, must struggle with their housing lot being as good as it gets. In the cities of England, these neighborhoods are similarly organized so that the worst houses are in the worst neighborhoods of a city."* [Engels 1845/1974: 94; translated by the author]

In the light of the evolution of housing discourse over time, questions of how to house the urban poor have initiated additional discourses about the connection between social equality and housing.

Nowadays it is considered basic knowledge, at least in the field of urban studies, that social positions are interrelated to spatial locations – although scholars continue to debate the nature of this interconnection. Drawing on Tilly's [1999] relational perspective and therefore arguing against Slater's [2013] claim that social position is more important than spatial localization, Blokland and colleagues [2016] posit the interconnection of position and space as a relational tandem. More specifically, they write: "[Tilly's perspective] points to the necessity to see position and location in tandem and to identify the mechanisms behind social (im)mobility and, above all, to treat position and location as relational concepts [Blokland et al., 2016: 4-5]." Accordingly, they argue that we must "think about the city as whole," [Blokland et al., 2016: 5] not as something easily separated into distinct containers or compartments. This argument does not contradict the notion that social inequality is, in many instances, spatially organized. It acknowledges that the distribution of basic needs, such as health or education, and who can live in the cities under what conditions, are interrelated in the (re-)production of inequalities in status, wealth, and social mobility This is not to say that so-called neighborhood effects, as described for example by Park and Burgess [1925], by Sampson [2008], or by Wilson in "The Truly Disadvantaged" [1987], are the *only* source of spatially organized social inequality. Housing as a market good or an asset can also be seen as a source for social inequality. For example, Bassett and Short [1980: 1-2] aptly summarize the structural inequalities of housing:

> *"Housing is a heterogeneous durable and essential consumer good; an indirect indicator of status and income differences between consumers; a map of social relations within the city; an*

> *important facet of residential structure; a source of bargaining and conflict between various power groupings; and a source of profit to different institutions and agents involved in the production, consumption and exchange of housing*".

Given the increasingly globalized nature of markets, the dynamics of housing distribution within cities have become increasingly linked to the relations of "power groupings" [Basset and Short, 1980: 2] spanning nation states. Urban development in the so-called global south has spurred increasing scientific interests in the socio-spatial changes in these regions. As such, debates in the so-called global north of advanced capitalist countries have "travelled" to other geographical areas (e.g. to explain the influx of formerly rural poor people into the economic centers of the global south). Processes such as globalization and its varieties of influence on the urban sphere in terms of "global cities" [Sassen, 1991], "neo-liberalism as a global strategy" [Smith, 2002], and "megacities" [Davis, 2006] have increased social inequalities as well as the pace of unequal housing redistribution. Despite the growing scholarly recognition that access to housing be considered a basic human right and that it is necessary for social mobility, and despite certain national and transnational efforts [see for example Baker, 2008; Ravallion, 2001 or the UN Human Rights Council 2012], the number of urban poor affected by insecure/inadequate housing conditions, evictions and displacement has continued to expand at an increasing rate in many of the megacities of the global south.

These international dynamics are particularly troubling when goods such as housing are limited and follow market principles of supply and demand. In other words, in a scarce housing market, the consequences of housing shortages are more severe for individuals or groups with limited resources than for those with sufficient resources. Individuals must invest more of their material and non-material resources as the demand for housing increases in the face of decreases in the supply of housing. In conjunction with the interconnection of social status and spatial location, the socio-economic vulnerability of urban poor is not only impacted by broader economic conditions, but by particular housing market conditions [Zainal et al., 2012]. For many urban poor, secure housing is a constant struggle – in terms of acquiring sufficient financial resources to pay the rent or debt, avoiding eviction, dealing with the consequences of spatial segregation and social marginalization, and so on. Thus, beyond the personal dimension of housing insecurity – the social-psychological experiences of fear, despair or even violence – these constant struggles can be characterized by intensive financial and time investments as well as exploitation, as I will show in the later chapters.

Against this backdrop, the importance of sociologically analyzing the interwoven processes of housing, urbanization, globalization, and inequality becomes clear. As with other dimensions of social inequality, unequal housing must be understood structurally, as something that exists above or beyond individuals or groups, as something that constrains and enables social action, and as something that is

patterned both within and across generations. Of course, individual agency, biographies, and/or hardships is an important factor to understand processes of inclusion and exclusion, of opportunities for participation in the urban fabric, and of individual mobility. But the housing question addressed from the approach of structural inequality offers a unique access point to understanding the systemic nature of marginalization, segregation and exploitation within housing markets

Urban researchers from various disciplines have highlighted certain aspects of structural inequality in housing. Debates about gentrification and neo-liberalism in urban studies are notable for their high profile [e.g., Slater, 2009; Smith, 2002; Atkinson and Bridge, 2005; Butler, 1997 and Aalbers and Gibb, 2014]. While analyses of gentrification in urban restructuring explain a great deal about global, macro-level systems of capital accumulation, exploitation and possible futures for the urban sphere, they neither explain the strategies the urban poor engage in to deal with housing shortages and inequalities nor reflect the complex processes of exploitation and opportunities at the more micro-to-meso levels of city life. In other words, attending to attributes, features or characteristics of global processes, such as gentrification, to explain the inequalities in attaining and maintaining housing is important, but only gives us one side of the story. An analytical framework which only emphasizes the production- and/or consumption sites of gentrification, would only serve to reproduce the debates about gentrification-related processes and consequences without adding insights about the nature of processes or their outcomes for the urban poor in terms of durable inequalities.

The strategies of the urban poor are a crucial missing piece to the puzzle of why the unequal access to housing remains so durable. To fill this gap, the present research aims to look beyond theories of gentrification or neo-liberalism and follow the call of urban studies scholars, such as Atkinson and Wulff [2009] or Slater, Curran and Lees [2016], to focus on experiences of displacement. The research is therefore situated in the framework of Charles Tilly's [1999] theory of durable inequalities. Through Tilly's lens of durable inequality, I aim to shed new light on the mechanisms operating to produce and reproduce social inequalities – in this case, the processes, interdependencies, interconnections and long-term consequences of housing inequalities.

1.1 Tilly's Theorization of Durable Inequalities

As touched on earlier, Tilly's [1999] theorization of durable inequality relies on a relational perspective. That is, the idea that inequalities are not only rooted in the outcomes of differences in skills, capacity, and motivation (individual characteristics), but importantly the result of institutions and social relations that have been constructed over time by individuals and groups for their ongoing advantage was central to his perspective. As he put it: "Many […] human activities that first appear to be quite individual later turn out to have a strong relational compound." [Tilly, 1999: 45]. To develop an analytic

framework, I build on Tilly's approach and adapt it to explain the strategic responses and participation in durable systems of inequality I identify in my research.

Tilly's work on durable inequalities can be seen as a combination of an "anti-individualism" and "combinatory structuralism" approach as Wright put it [2000: 4-5]. According to him:

> *"In individualist approaches, […] the central causes of social inequality are seen as operating through the attributes of individuals. Poverty is explained by the attributes of poor people, not by the relations of exploitation within which poor people live; gender inequality is explained by sexist attitudes, not by organizational structures which underwrite the hoarding of various kinds of opportunities by men. […] In contrast, Tilly insists that explanations of inequality must be at their core social relational: to the extent individual attributes are explanatory of inequalities, they are explanatory by virtue of the nature of the social relations within which those individual attributes operate."*

In other words, Tilly argues that the force of individual attributes is socially patterned or determined – ascribed and shaped by social relations and collective understandings – making social relations crucial for the analysis of inequalities. In those terms for example, explanations for a higher risk of poverty for single mothers compared to mothers being in a relationship would not seek root causes in attitudes of the mothers, but by their social position, e.g. marginalized or discriminated against. In Tilly's terms, and as I will elaborate in the later chapters, that person gathers opportunities by not paying rent, instead of understanding him as a lazy person.

According to Tilly himself, inequalities endure – i.e., they are durable – because they are mapped onto categorical distinctions: "Large, significant inequalities in advantages among human beings correspond mainly to categorical differences such as black/white, male/female, citizen/foreigner, or Muslim/Jew rather than to individual differences in attributes, propensities, or performances" [Tilly, 1999: 7]. Moreover, once these categorical distinctions are in place, the unequal distributions of power they represent become self-reinforcing and largely taken for granted. Those processes can be observed for instance when considering phenomenons such as self-directed discriminations, e.g. in terms of "I am poor and not worth it", "I am a women and bad in technics" or "I am gay and filthy". As Tilly further specifies in a later account, "inequality emerges from asymmetrical social interactions in which advantages accumulate on one side or the other, fortified by construction of social categories that justify and sustain unequal advantage" [Tilly, 2001: 8].

1.2 The research question(s)

Drawing from Tilly, the crucial question is not whether individual attributes drive the decision-making of the urban poor, but: what kinds of structural processes influence the strategies of the urban poor and therein foster or reduce durable housing inequalities? This question is particularly valuable for a discourse about displacement as it can illuminate this process from the angle of the 'displaced' and therefore add crucial voices and critical insights from the perspective of the urban poor. Placing the repertoire of responses drawn on by the urban poor in the face of displacement at the center of investigation, increases our chances of critically understanding the short- and long-term impacts of displacement and with them, dynamics of durable housing inequalities.). Therefore, this research broadly asks: *How do the urban poor cope with displacement[1]?*

However, for the sake of analytic clarity, this overarching question contains several sub-questions:

1. How can we best unpack the idea of "coping" with the threat or uncertainty of displacement to arrive at a sociological conceptualization of these strategies?
2. Then, what kinds of strategies do the urban poor develop?
3. What are the effects of the identified strategies for these individuals and their social environment, especially when they aim to stay put?
4. How do the strategies fit within the dynamics of Tilly's theory of durable housing inequalities?
5. And, finally, what factors shape which strategies are deployed? For instance, do the distinct forms of housing (such as for example favelas or occupied buildings) impact the strategies put into practice and dynamics of displacement?

I arrived at these questions through an iterative process of engaging with the literature, applying it to my grounded experiences in the cities of São Paulo (Brazil) and Istanbul (Turkey) where I conducted my fieldwork, and back again. To address them, I compare different housing forms, such as rented apartments, auto-constructed dwellings or occupations, within and across these two cities between the years of 2014 to 2017. As I will elaborate in greater detail on the distinct housing forms in chapter four, I will give here only a brief overview for clarification:

[1] Within this research the concept of 'displacement' and the 'risk of displacement' are interchangeable.

City	Housing form	Brief description
São Paulo	Cortiços	low quality of housing, comparable to workers tenements ("Arbeiterkasernen"), usually privately-owned by families, residents share utilities, such as bathrooms and kitchens.
	Occupations (akin squats)	Squatting (or occupying) an empty or abandoned building, either conducted by a movement or by non-movement.
	Favelas	Formerly an empty or abandoned plot of land which became squats ed (or occupied), followed by auto-constructions of dwellings and infrastructure from dwellers. Comprised of shacks and sometimes public housing complexes.
Istanbul	apartments managed by the Armenian church	Rental apartments, mainly located in Tarlabaşı, in which Armenians, or individuals affiliated to the Armenian church, may be able to rent for low costs an apartment owned by the Armenian church.
	single room occupancies (SROs) "Bachelor rooms"	Among the most frequent low-housing opportunities in Tarlabaşı, these rooms, are usually rented out by legitimate or non-legitimate landlords to refugees, single men from the countryside looking for labor, and other highly vulnerable groups
	Gecekondus	Gecekondus are best described as little, self-built homes on formerly public land, which had become occupied at some point. They share great familiarity with the housing form of favelas in São Paulo.

Table 1: Overview of the different housing forms analyzed within this research, by author.

Because I chose to look across different forms of housing, my cases within each city are not primarily grounded in specific neighborhoods. Without a doubt, neighborhoods matter when it comes to questions of social inequalities and with that housing inequality. Indeed, neighborhoods and the specific urban transformations[2] altering them have received much scientific attention. As discussed earlier, this is particularly evident in the large body of scholarship on neighborhood-effects, while such accounts understand neighborhoods as the primary sphere of social interactions, socialization, and so forth, this focus is less fruitful for trying to understand the housing conditions of the urban poor. I argue that although this literature offers important insights, looking across diverse forms of settlements offers a different vantage point assessing the range of strategies the urban poor draw from when confronting housing displacement, the conditions and dynamics on which these strategies are based, and the conditions and dynamics that they produce. For example, the very decision of which particular housing form a person occupies depends on various factors, such as its location, rental costs, access or availability, as well as considerations by the urban poor in terms of security of tenure, existing social ties, and former experiences [Farwick, 2001].

[2] Urban transformations are understood within this research as an umbrella term for the different kinds of transformations of cities discussed elsewhere in the literature, such as gentrification, city beautification projects, slum upgrades, etc.

Framing my approach to case selection around diverse housing forms is in line with David Harvey's [1989] elaboration of housing submarkets as key sites of inquiry (as I will explain in greater detail in chapter three on methods). Subsequently, in the following chapters, I argue that housing forms powerfully impact the range of displacement-avoiding strategies available to the urban poor, influence further housing developments and trajectories and generate, in the context of durable inequalities, new institutional housing realities. Taken together, investigating diverse housing forms can contribute to our knowledge about the complexity of housing inequalities for the urban poor. The findings can be used as "[…] a 'strategy of critique' that reveals the distinctiveness of existing urban theories, and a 'strategy of alterity' that generates new positions and lines of enquiry for the discipline." [Clarke, 2012: 3].

1.3 The research sites

Comparing 'different' cities is a common research strategy in urban studies. In many instances, the parameters of comparison are defined by constructed hierarchies between cities (e.g. developed versus underdeveloped, rich versus poor, or good governance versus weak governance). This scholarship – that either explicitly or implicitly incorporates such urban hierarchies into the study design – offers a rich diversity of accounts of the "global cities" in the West. However, as prominent scholars, including Clarke [2012], Robinson [2011], Roy [2005], and Peck [2015], have pointed out, it largely neglects opportunities and possibilities for enriching the field of urban studies by choosing cities outside the common urban hierarchies. In the same vein, McFarlane [2010: 726] critically reminds us, "urban studies as a discipline has been surprisingly slow to analyze how the experience of cities in the 'South' might cause us to rethink urban knowledge and urban theory". More specifically, he observes:

> *"From the 1970s, urban studies became increasingly divided by 'the hierarchical categorization of different kinds of cities as developed or undeveloped . . . This divide continues to form the basis for urban studies to this day, in which different kinds of cities are broadly thought to be incommensurable' […]. It is worth remembering that this division between urban North=theory and urban South=development is not a straightforwardly intellectual choice — it is not the case that urbanists have had much written debate on this division. It is instead an historical epistemic and institutional division that reflects long histories of global geographical categorization that emerges through European colonialism and becomes entrenched in the First–Second–Third World categorizations of the Cold War […]. Despite the fact that many urbanists do not themselves subscribe to these categories, and despite efforts to blur notions of First/Third, Developed/Developing, or North/South, these categories have an ongoing performative effect — they are stubborn, and are not easily written away."* [McFarlane, 2010: 728]

Reminiscent of Tilly's arguments about the role of social categorization in durable inequalities, such 'stubborn' categories can negatively impact theoretical accounts of the urban by reinforcing binaries that limit the possibilities for knowledge production and exchange outside the Western world. Moreover, urbanists might transfer theories from the North to the South without adequate scientific evidence.

From this perspective, implementing a transnational, mixed-methods approach, and one anchored in on-the-ground field research as I do here, is well suited for destabilizing these hierarchies in urban systems as well as in urban studies. In short, we need to consider "[…] how the experience of cities in the South might cause us to rethink urban knowledge and urban theory" [Lees, 2011: 166]. Consequently, the cities I selected for this research had to meet certain criteria: a) be outside the common urban hierarchy, b) therefore located outside the global West, c) follow a 'most-dissimilar' study design, d) be evidently affected by urban transformations likely to cause displacements, e) show high levels of social inequality and housing shortages and e) accessible in terms of research feasibility. From all the possible cities meeting these criteria, I selected São Paulo (Brazil) and Istanbul (Turkey). Table 2, below, compares the two cities along four axes to illustrate the main areas where they overlap and where they differ.

	Indicators for housing inequalities	**Role of the state**	**National economic framework**	**Developments of political opposition**
São Paulo	-Rapid urban population growth with development of informal settlements [Holston, 2008] and the abandonment of the old civic center [Betancur, 2014] -Strong agglomeration of Industrial, economic and financial sector [Comin et al., 2010] -Rapid increases in rents and property prices [Atkinson and Bridge, 2005]	-Left-wing government [Workers' Party; Partido dos Trabalhadore] with a major focus on poverty reduction, infrastructure improvement, social inclusion, education and healthcare	-Heavily affected by international investments and real estate speculation [Betancur, 2014] -Expansion of Brazilian middle class [Ceratti, 2012]	-Violent demonstrations against redevelopment plans. Most notably. In response to development projects for the World Cup [Rayner Bowater, 2014]

Istanbul	-Real estate market 'bubble' with an increase in high-value businesses [Uzun, 2013] -Huge amount of Urban renewal projects by simultaneously rapid population growth and increases in tourism [Erkut and Shiraz, 2014] - increases in rental prizes as part of gentrifications [Uzun, 2013]	-Muslim-conservative government [Justice and Development Party; Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi] with a strongly liberal agenda in terms of finance and economics	-Economy has enjoyed strong growth in trade and foreign investment fueled by extremely liberal laws for foreign investments [Gönenç et al., 2012]	-Violent demonstrations regarding urban renewal projects. Most notably those that occurred in Gezi Park [Amnesty International, 2013]

Table 2: brief comparison of some central features of São Paulo and Istanbul.

1.4 Structure of the dissertation

As the project adopts a qualitative research design, the dissertation is structured accordingly: In the next chapter (chapter two), I flesh out my arguments by outlining the theoretical foundations underlying the research process and explaining crucial concepts. More specifically, I discuss Tilly's framing of durable inequalities and argue that his theoretical account can be applied to housing and displacement. Second, I argue that the urban poor are not passive victims, to whom durable inequality is simply imposed. These considerations set the basic foundation on which the research question and the discussion of the data are then grounded.

Chapter three details my qualitative research approach., As part of appraising analytic approaches to my subject of study, I review comparative urbanism methods – highlighting some of the advantages and disadvantages of this research domain. Further, I explain the methods selected for this study and explain in detail the research process.

As questions of "how" the research was conducted are as important as those concerning "where" the research took place, the latter are addressed in chapter four. Here, I describe my cases from the cities of São Paulo and Istanbul by blending thick description with comparative ethnographic methods. Because the cases are constructed around housing sub-markets, I provide the particularities of each housing niche and how they correspond with the local environment. This chapter presents a broad picture of the overall research question; that is, not only discussing questions about housing conditions, but also the impacts of displacement pressures.

In chapter five, I present the research findings and answer the research questions. To do so, I develop a sociological definition of strategies that aligns with Bourdieu's concepts of capital. I argue

that strategies applied by the urban poor to stay put are of a dual nature. On one side, they can be interpreted, following Bourdieu [1986], as capital transactions to either secure or improve the housing situation. Simultaneously, though, on the other side, these same strategies produce and reproduce durable inequalities, as I will try to prove by my data. Using my data to illustrate these arguments, I further posit that many strategies of the urban poor can be conceptualized as one or several forms of mechanisms, described by Tilly [1999], such as opportunity hoarding or adaptation. Lastly, I will argue that the strategies by the urban poor are not randomly chosen, but depend on the housing forms as well as on the different forms of capital applied.

In chapter six, I review the dissertation's key findings and their implications. In general, I argue that although some shifts in the system of established inequalities are noticeable, Tilly's account can explain why improvements in the housing situation for the urban poor are not sustainable. ".

In the final chapter, the epilogue, I reflect on my findings and subsequent conclusions in terms of my personal experiences during the research process. I am aiming here to draw a more optimistic picture about urban change and the "housing question" for the urban poor.

2. Theorizing the Anti-displacement Strategies of the urban poor

This chapter presents a theoretical framework for systematically investigating how the urban poor deal with housing and displacement pressures. To develop this framework, I begin by briefly reviewing conceptualizations of poverty to situate the urban poor in relation to this concept. Next, I introduce the central conceptual tools derived from Tilly's [1999] approach to durable inequalities and discuss how they can be applied to housing before turning to a closer examination of displacement as a critical concept that connects the two (i.e., housing forms as durable inequalities).

2.1 Conceptualizations of (urban) poverty: a review

To better comprehend the nature of urban poverty and the opportunities of agency therein, it is useful to describe prevalent understandings of poverty. In general, two broad, complementary strands are identifiable in social science poverty research: economic and multidimensional [Gordon, Spicker, Leguizamón, 2006: 175]. The first conceptualizes poverty mainly in quantitative terms of income or wealth. As a form of measurement, what I am calling economic poverty is closely connected to notions of "absolutes," such as absolute levels of minimum needs, abstract standards of wealth, or fixed thresholds to distinguish the poor from the nonpoor. By contrast, multidimensional conceptualizations of poverty are commonly measured as relative to some contextual factor – relative to the median income at a certain time and within a certain society, for instance, or relative to one's reference group. This latter strand of thinking increasingly treats poverty as both multidimensional and processual, as requiring attention to several forms of deprivation and difference, including social exclusion and the depth of poverty among the poor.

These conceptualizations point to the difficulty in painting an accurate picture of poverty within the urban sphere. As such, understanding poverty only according to economic interpretations appears limiting, short-sighted, and potentially highly problematic for redressing inequalities. Consider for example the notion of vulnerability in the context of poverty. Within a framework of absolute material deprivations based on income, only vulnerabilities based upon income poverty would be identified (e.g., to hunger), However, other forms of vulnerability, such as insufficient access to good schools, inadequate housing, or assets against which to gain favorable loan rates, would be overlooked. Such oversights are particular problematic if we include intersectional inequalities in conceptualizations of poverty. Take the example of a single mother in São Paulo with two children, one an adolescent and the other an infant. Here, if an income measure of poverty were applied, then the highly probable reality that the older child contributes to the family income though informal or formal

labor could be hidden. Additionally, while the adolescent works, s/he will not be able to devote as much time to school – if s/he is able to devote any time to school. In the long run, this trade-off is likely to negatively influence the child's opportunities to achieve the higher levels of education that lead to higher incomes. These types of paths or "circuits of poverty reinforcement" as Simone [2015: 21] puts it, require a multidimensional understanding of poverty.

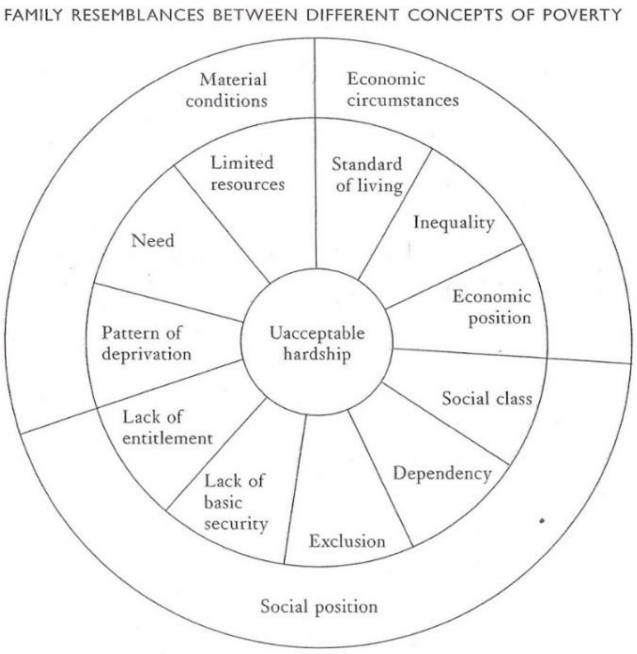

Figure 1: Different concepts of poverty [Gordon, Spicker, Leguizamón, 2007: 240]

According to the World Development Report [World Bank, 2001: 15], "Poverty is pronounced deprivation in well-being." But clearly and despite the utility of standard, absolute measures, "well-being" cannot be defined synchronically or singularly (see Figure 1 above). Scholars arguing for multi-dimensional approaches recognize that poverty -or deprivations in well-being must cover both monetary and non-monetary dimensions. The highly influential economist, Amartya Sen [1992], who has spent much of his career researching poverty, believes that poverty is not the mere lack of income to meet basic needs, but deprivations in basic human capabilities. Supporting Sen's argument with their own research on multi-dimensional poverty, Wang, Feng, Xia, Alkire [2016: 3] aptly summarize his insight:

> *"Poverty is multidimensional and includes not only a shortage of income to maintain basic living, but also social exclusion, expressed as a lack of access to education, health, and housing due to a social predicament."*

Against this backdrop, what is meant by "deprivations" in the context of urban poverty? Baker [2008: 4-5] has identified several mutually-reinforcing resource deprivations for the urban poor. These "deprivations" include:

> *"i) limited access to income and employment; ii) inadequate and insecure living conditions; iii) poor infrastructure and services; iv) vulnerability to risks such as natural disasters, environmental hazards and health risks particularly associated with living in slums, v) spatial issues which inhibit mobility and transport; and vi) inequality closely linked to problems of exclusion."*

When comparing among the urban poor living in the informal settlements of fast-growing cities like São Paulo and Istanbul, the necessity of approaching poverty from a multidimensional perspective of multiple deprivations is apparent. Accurately capturing the urban poor in these cities and others demands conceptualizations of urban poverty as an intersectional system.

Moreover, urban poverty must be approached as a dynamic process, as part of the social fabric of the city, and as having long-term, institutionalized effects that condition the agency of collective and individual actors. Das and Randeria [2015: 4] provide a valuable summary of the multi-dimensional interpretation of poverty and the poor:

> *"We have no wish to romanticize the poor or to underestimate the ways in which poverty might corrode the capacity for collective or individual action, but it seems to us that an understanding of poverty must see it in relation to the tight alignments with other conditions of life, such as the possibility of democratic participation, the erosion of infrastructure, the denial of citizenship as in the case of refugees, the effect of race and policies of incarceration, or the way in which livelihoods might become embroiled in the drug trade or addiction or are willfully destroyed in the name of either development or the functioning of the free market. In each of these constellations we can discern the different ways in which poverty is experienced and how far the potential for political action (seen as the effort to bring about a different kind of everyday) is realized. "*

As this interpretation suggests, urban poverty doesn't take a single trajectory, nor can the urban poor be understood as a single entity. Baharoglu and Kessides [2002: 129] state: "The Urban Poor comprise different groups with diverse needs and levels and types of vulnerabilities." As this statement makes clear, it is not only how we conceptualize the issue of poverty, but also how we conceptualize the urban poor that requires careful consideration. The urban poor are often defined in terms of deficits – by the things they do not have, by lacking positive attributes, or for what sets them apart (quantitatively or qualitatively) from the nonpoor in a given social context. Furthermore, these definitions usually include some notions of "assistance": some social entity or institution is designed to assist those categorized as vulnerable or needy. Thus, in the words of Simone [2015: 4]:

> *"One of the consequences of this way of seeing the poor is that while agency is given to some kinds of poor, others are seen in policy discourses as populations to be managed through both policing and paternalistic interventions by the state. In one influential tradition of conceptualizing the poor, the very emergence of the poor as a distinct social category of those who are neither fully included nor fully excluded from society is seen to be a product of the relief provided them by others […]".*

This not only implies definitions from outside or above, but also points to the routinely false assumptions that the poor are poor by choice and that they are not working. Moreover, in the words of Das and Randeria [2015: 11], it conceals the socially constructed nature of the category and its interconnectedness with other social forms and relationship:

> *"[…] part of the difficulty arises from treating the poor as a category separable from other social forms and defined through violence, care, kinship, neighborhood, state, ethnicity, gender, or class. The category of the poor is thus dissolved through the density of relatedness that enmesh the poor in the highly heterogeneous networks, as the contributions to the special issue amply demonstrate. Just as the urban poor live in many heterogeneous networks, they also live and act in multiple heterogeneous temporalities, individually and together.*"

The urban poor are not only heterogeneous, but also in a state of flux and exchange with more affluent classes [Simone, 2015]. Both sites, the affluent and the poor, contribute to the establishment and continuity of heterogeneous networks, practices and relations that develop within and between the two groups. Further, both groups are embedded in distribution systems at the nexus of the state and the market. It is, for example, reasonable state that the wealthier classes depend to some degree on the poorer classes when we take into consideration the inexpensive labor the latter routinely provide the former. In districts where the urban poor have been completely displaced by the wealthier classes, the nonpoor and those seeking to employ cheap laborers may be forced to adjust now that local baby-sitters, dog-walkers, retail employees, gardeners or craftsmen are no longer available.

Clearly, much has been written about the urban poor and the difficulties of adequately conceptualizing the groups and people placed in this category – their agency in varying contexts of social-political as well as economic rights, and their social relations as opposed to social categorizations. To be sure, not all the urban poor have the same amount of resources, the same experiences, the same know-how, or the same suffering from equivalent deprivations. This means that it is hard to find appropriate ways to study 'the' urban poor due to the high level of generalization required and based on the multi-dimensional nature of poverty. With this in mind, although urban poor are neither a homogenous group nor solely involved in networks, practices and relations within their "own" social class, they still share similar experiences, such as social exclusion and spatial segregation.

I argue, then, that many of the urban poor are comparable to each other to the degree that they share similar social relations, experiences of discrimination, exclusion, segregation, and deprivations, to name a few. As such, I use the term "the urban poor" as an umbrella term that includes the different dimensions and deprivations distinct sub-groups of urban poor generally share. This working definition

not only includes individuals who are living at or below national poverty lines, but also people who maybe make enough for a living, but based on their deprivations are more vulnerable to economic, social and cultural inequalities and discriminations. This conceptualization emphasizes the urban poor as precarious. It is inclusive enough for covering the complex and divergent "Lebenswelten" [life-worlds], while simultaneously precise enough to satisfy the requirements of scientific rigor.

To illustrate how this conceptualization can be applied, picture a single female migrant in Istanbul with no assets or support network and who makes just enough money to live (provide food, clothing, and some shelter for herself) through the income she earns informally working as a cleaning lady. Should she experience a health issue that causes her to lose this income, she will no longer be able to provide for herself. Even if she doesn't lose her job, the costs of treating her health condition will prevent her from providing for her other basic needs, such as paying her rent. As this example demonstrates, although the women may not meet certain economic criteria for being counted as among the poor before her health issue, she is among the urban poor because of her high level of precarity or risk, her extremely limited options for preventing social decline in the face of new needs or the loss of any income. Even if wage labor is a central template for human relations, employment alone cannot define poverty or necessarily lift one out of poverty. As alluded to in this example, housing insecurity is one of the central deprivations commonly experienced by the urban poor. Therefore, I now turn to linking the inequalities experienced by the urban poor to the issue of housing.

2.2 Housing struggles as durable inequalities: core concepts from Tilly's framework"

Human inequality, in general and according to Tilly's [1999: 25] definition, "consists of the uneven distribution of attributes among a set of social units […]." Durable inequalities are human inequalities "that last from one social interaction to the next with special attention to those that persist over whole careers, lifetimes and organizational histories" [Tilly, 1999: 6]. Continuing his line of reasoning, housing can be understood as an "autonomous good," which is "observable without reference to outside units, as in accumulations of food", in contrast to "relative goods," which are "observable only in relation to other units, such as prestige" [Tilly, 1999: 25]. Autonomous goods, due to their nature of being crucial, e.g. food, housing etc. increase extremer inequalities than relative goods. This, in turn as Tilly [1999: 26] argues, means that housing creates and can increase more extreme forms of inequality than relative goods. In addition, reflecting on the accounts from numerous scholars, such as Smith [2002], Harvey [2013] Marcuse [1985], Lees, Shin and Lopez-Morales [2016], access too housing and sustaining of adequate housing is a lifelong need and, in many cases, a basis of inequalities that endure over a lifetime, across generations, and across geographies.

Social categories

Tilly [1999] argues that social categories are the foundation for the (re-)production of inequalities between one social unit and another. Thus, dominant social categories need to be identified in order to detect the lines of differentiation along which they are drawn. Categories, according to Tilly [1999: 63], are uneven categorical pairs or binary oppositions that center on particular boundaries. Like Durkheim's classic distinction between the sacred versus the profane, these pairs are developed to broadly identify enemy from ally or positive from negative and, more specifically, to create lines of distinction between different social groups, behaviors, or institutions in order to secure and increase access to goods for those in power. These can take the form for instance of female versus male, white versus black or poor versus non-poor. But what are the crucial categorical pairs when it comes to the urban poor and the risks of insecure housing? What are the lines of differentiation according to access to housing and how do they sustain who is granted access or security?

For the purposes of this comparative research, the categorical pairs of interest need to operate in both São Paulo as well as Istanbul. That means that the boundary of distinction must be identified across different social, political, economic and cultural factors within and between urban environments. In line with the previous discussion of the multidimensional nature of poverty and inequalities, Tilly [1999: 67] argues that people are usually linked in two or more categories at the same time. That is, he proffers an intersectional approach in which inequalities are performed and sustained by a conjunction of various, interdependent categories. The challenge, then, is not to identify a single categorical pair around which inequalities are constructed, but to understand the lines of differentiation. Accordingly, I argue that because distinctive categorical pairs are simultaneously active, analytically dissecting them is not advantageous. Instead, we need to understand the intersectionality of categorical pairs and therefore conceptualize them as forces interacting and re-enforcing each other.

At the same time, we need to be aware that different categorical pairs and those they intersect with are likely to capture different groups of the target population in different ways. The intersectionality of categorical pairs can be seen in cases where individual is a woman (not a man) as well as single (not married) and of a particular ethnic or racial background (not of the dominant ethnicity/race). In certain contexts, all three of these categorizations may put the person on the less powerful or denigrated side of the categorical pair. For example, single mothers in São Paulo coming originally from the North-East are likely to suffer from inequality based upon the categorical pair male/female as well as from insider/outsider or experience racial discrimination based on the categorical pairing of white/black. A single mother in Istanbul, originally from Kurdistan, would be likely to experience similar forms of inequality based on gender and ethnicity. In sum, Tilly's framework

enables the observation of several categorical pairs as intersectional and active in the creation and maintenance of durable inequalities, such as housing. The key point here, however, is that these pairs – gender, marital status, income, ethnicity, and so on – can be aligned along a similar boundary according to income, ethnicity, or gender, to name only a few, but ultimately such a distinction is not advantageous for the course of the following discussion.

2.3 Tilly's mechanisms and their applicability to housing and the urban poor

In conjunction with social categories, the other conceptual cornerstones of Tilly's account are the social mechanisms involved in processes of inequalities that, reproduce and foster durable inequalities. Tilly's work identifies two central mechanisms in durable inequalities – "Exploitation" and "Opportunity Hoarding" – and two mechanisms that explain the maintenance of the inequalities – "Emulation" and "Adaptation." As the following sub-sections will show, these four mechanisms overlap in both operational substance and timing. While this means they interact with one another and that their boundaries are somewhat fluid, stark empirical distinctions are not always possible nor entirely necessary.

Exploitation:

For Tilly, the exploitation mechanism is the underlying foundation of inequalities because it establishes the privileges and power of the elites., He succinctly defines exploitation as "when powerful, connected people command resources from which they draw significantly increased returns by coordinating the effort of outsiders whom they exclude from the full value added by the effort." [Tilly, 1999: 10] He further identifies seven basic elements of exploitation: "Powerholders, their coordinated efforts, deployable resources, command over those resources, returns from those resources, categorical exclusion, and skewed division of returns as compared with effort" [Tilly, 1999: 128]. On a microlevel, we can consider the regularly exploitative relationship between babysitters and their employer(s) in most contemporary contexts. This relationship is routinely exploitative because babysitters are usually paid a fraction of the wages earned by their employers for the same amount of time.

In the framework of housing, as an 'economic good' and not a 'common good,' which commonly follows the market logic of supply and demand [c.f., Xing, Hartzell and Godschalk, 2006; Watson, 2013, Li, Wong and Cheung, 2016], it is not complicated to identify forms of exploitation, especially in terms of Tilly's seven elements of exploitation. In short, because the demand for housing tends to be ever present those in power control access to housing (supply), and therefore, to a large extent, the market dynamics of housing markets. The powerholders can, however, become generally divided in two groups.

One group consists of non-state actors, such as individual landlords, large-scale developers, and even transnational corporations, who produce and organize the housing market by influencing the amount of housing units produced, by coordinating thresholds to hinder access to those units, as well as by securing the returns and rewards of housing as a resource in terms of capital accumulation. The second group of powerholders can be argued to consist of state actors and state institutions. State authorities are responsible for the legal rules and policies about housing. For example, this coordinated body of powerholders designs policy incentives for urban renewal projects, the obligations and rights of tenants and landlords, and state-subsidies for housing. Furthermore, the relations between these two groups and the attention they receive respectively by scholars in terms of the elements of exploitation their relative power varies according to levels of economic development or infrastructure.

Notably, in the states of the so-called global south, state powerholders receive greater scrutiny due to their role within the "developmental state" and discussions about global neo-liberalism. Certain urbanists, Parnell and Pieterse [2010] or Parnell and Robinson [2013], argue that the state in the global south has an important role in the reduction of poverty and, correspondingly, with the development of adequate housing. One need only consider the huge relocation efforts required of state actors to upgrade a slum or eradicate informal settlements. Such redevelopment projects require at least some degree of state involvement in relocation. For example, Minha Casa Minha Vida[3] in Brazil and TOKİ, the state agency of Turkey for creating relocation sites, play crucial roles in efforts to modify the housing terrain. In many cases new housing units are built by state developers or implemented through private-public partnerships.

According to Tilly's work and other accounts [e.g. Richardson et al, 2017: 592], housing markets are essentially exploitative. Moreover, to add to the above arguments, global market dynamics such as increased investments in the second circuit[4], growth in the commodification of real estate markets, as well as growing demands for housing due to increasing urban populations in the majority of cities worldwide [e.g. Beauregard, 1994, Holm, 2014, Wu, 2015], have likely exacerbated housing inequalities in the long run as well. Taken together, a clear pattern emerges from ruling market principles. Namely, as housing demand rises, and the supply of housing remains stagnant or even decreases for the low-income or poor, the greater the exploitation – the greater the chances for

[3] Minha Casa Minha Vida" roughly translates into "My House My Life." Announced in 2009, Minha Casa, Minha Vida is the Brazilian Federal Government's solution to promote access to housing for millions of poor Brazilian families who would hardly have access to it otherwise. The legislation included plans to construct homes as part of a broader effort to upgrade and modernize the nation's cities. Participants of the program are offered financing options to either buy a home constructed by the government or to renovate an existing home.
[4] The second circuit is understood here as the sphere of unproductive labor, where commodities are sold, and financial capital is gathered.

powerholders to increase their rewards or profits from housing markets. Therefore, there are few incentives for powerholders to modify this market logic.

Opportunity Hoarding:

The crucial second mechanism for durable inequalities that Tilly defines is opportunity hoarding. Here, he argues: "[…] promoting categorical inequality, the hoarding of opportunities by the non-elite, compliments exploitation" [Tilly, 1999: 91]. In other words, even the exploited may respond to the exploitation of the elite powerholders by hoarding what opportunities they can, thereby reinforcing categorical inequalities. Members on the "weaker" sides of categorical pairs, find themselves in competition with one another for access to resources (i.e., housing) and the ability to accumulate them. As a result of trying to maintain what privileges and rewards they can, they often divide amongst themselves into categorizations that maintain the larger boundary division between elite and non-elites. More specifically, as Tilly [1999: 154] puts it:

> *"Opportunity hoarding often rests on ethnic categories, members of which reinforce their control over hoarded resources by means of their power to include or exclude other members with respect to language, kinship, courtship, marriage, housing, sociability, religion, ceremonial life, credit and political patronage."*

Tilly highlights the development of this mechanism using examples of immigrant communities, though other social category groupings evince similar dynamics.

He argues that networks based on membership in the same migrant population provide essential access to pre-established resource niches or opportunity structures. Working niches, for example, are evident in his presentation of the case of Italian-American's domination of landscape gardening by limiting hiring to members of their migrant community [Tilly, 1999: 153ff]. As this example implies, opportunity hoarding – like exploitation – consists of several elements:

> *"a distinctive network, valuable resources that are renewable, subject to monopoly, supportive of network activities, and enhanced by the network's modus operandi, sequestering of those resources by network members and the creation of beliefs and practices sustain network control of the resources."* [Tilly, 1999: 155]

Of course, and given the obvious power relations present in these elements of opportunity hoarding, this mechanism does not exist in isolation from that of exploitation. Tilly [1999: 10] asserts, that opportunity hoarding by the weak requires that those in power "tolerate, encourage or ignore" their efforts.

Turning to the implications of these insights for housing, opportunity hoarding is one of the few possibilities for the urban poor to gain and sustain access to housing. This access, however, is limited because it depends on the "tolerance, encouragement or ignorance" of state and non-state powerholders. Developing a form of housing in which the urban poor don't have to pay rent or have the chance to sell those units at a later point follows the definition of opportunity hoarding, these can be for example squats ed buildings where only certain network members are allowed to rent. Similarly, creating social bonds and support systems (e.g., childcare, resource pooling, etc.) that are exclusive to other groups and that circumscribe the quantity and quality of a social network, as I will explain in greater detail in chapter five, can also be considered opportunity hoarding.

In their attempts to create assets out of in-group housing opportunities, many urban poor create new barriers for others. For instance, by increasing the amount of money newcomers or outsiders have to pay to "buy" such a unit or by the limiting access to who can even find those places. This means that opportunity hoarding by the "non-elites" increases the competition within the housing market between "non-elites." While some may be lucky enough to gain access to housing, this very opportunity and the desire to keep the housing can demand further actions to exclude other members of the non-elite. As described above, the lines of differentiation within the group of non-elites, then, reinforce social categories within the larger group (e.g. gender or ethnicity). With these dynamics in mind, opportunity hoarding can help to explain why the boundaries of community, as vague as that concept can be, are both a crucial asset and obstacle for housing among the urban poor.

Emulation:

Emulation is a complimentary and intervening mechanism that contributes to the maintenance of exploitation and opportunity hoarding. In Tilly's [1999: 95] account, emulation is "the reproduction of organizational models already operating elsewhere". As these models or templates are imitated, copied or transplanted from one setting to another, they rely on scripting [Tilly, 1999: 53-54]. Of particular relevance to the durability of inequalities and the mechanisms that underpin this durability, emulation "provides the illusion of ubiquity, therefore of inevitability" [Tilly, 1999: 191]. Once the models become so ubiquitous that they are taken for granted as inevitable, it becomes that much harder to challenge them or to create alternative models.

Examples of emulation within the housing framework are easily found when one looks at the practices of who gets access to different forms of housing. Ahmed and Hammarstedt [2008], Carlsson and Eriksson [2014], and Auspurg, Hinz and Schmid [2017] have all found that discriminatory attitudes often influence landlord decisions about whom to rent available housing units to. Broadly speaking, categorical inequality, based, for example, on social status or ethnic heritage, shapes the decision-

making process and evaluation of future renters. Those, who might be generally discriminated against on other dimensions (e.g., occupation, education level, gender) are likely to face those same patterns within the housing framework. As such, housing movements as well as the formation of political organizations by the urban poor are also likely to be affected by processes of emulation. As I will discuss further in chapter five, this mechanism in political mobilization can repeat and reinforce general stereotypes existing towards particular social categories or groups. This is seen in the exclusion of Roma families by Turkish families in housing movements in Istanbul and the exclusion of the homeless from membership in São Paulo's housing movements.

Adaptation:

Adaptation is a second critical process in the maintenance of exploitation and opportunity hoarding mechanisms. Tilly defines adaptation as the "elaboration of daily routines such as mutual aid, political influence, courtship and information gathering" [Tilly, 1999: 10]. It relies on the accumulation of local knowledge [Tilly, 1999: 53-54] or know-how and "keeps the system of inequality in place despite playing little part in their creation" [Tilly, 1999: 97]. Put differently, adaptation secures normative inequalities by providing routinized procedures that ease day-to-day interactions [Tilly, 2001: 11-13]. Whereas emulation can be read as routinized practices operating primarily at the level of organizations and institutions, adaptation operates on the more micro level of everyday life rules of thumb and cognitions. Applied to the framework of housing and the urban poor, adaptation can mean that urban poor not only "get used" to the housing inequalities opposed on them, but also ultimately foster them.

Many of the non-elite or the urban poor adapt their everyday realities (i.e., those of keeping their needs or ambitions in accordance with their means) to their exploitative housing situations. This can take the form of accepting rather than opposing unfair housing policies or inadequate forms of housing forms. Arguably, in this view, the urban poor by not opposing housing inequalities, by playing a game rigged to the advantage of the elite inadvertently, entrench their own exploitation. However, adaptation does not automatically equate with playing the game the way powerholders intend. It also has at its conceptual core, the idea of evolutionary survival: the drive to get by. In the case of employment opportunities for the urban poor in many cities of the global south, I would argue that it is through adaptation, among other things, that many urban poor find working niches within the hybridity of formal and informal labor opportunities. That, precariousness in attaining stable employment, housing, and so forth can also create contingency and innovation in adaptation. Having outlined the concepts of emulation and adaptation, it is important to note that Tilly himself recognized these processes to as hard to pin down. These two "general mechanisms," he notes "[…] operate far

outside the range of categorical inequality, fixing all sorts of institutional inventions in place" [Tilly, 1999: 181].

Over time, Tilly as well as other scholars have come to challenge, develop, and rearrange certain elements involved in his theory [e.g., Tilly [2000], Laslett, 2000, Morris, 2000, Wright, 2000]. Tilly's self-critique points to four initial mistakes in his efforts at theorizing durable inequalities: "failing to anticipate certain misunderstandings it was likely to generate; failing to emphasize the heuristic character of some exaggerated contrasts; failing to explicate its explanatory strategy in sufficient detail; failing to develop the view of interactions among individual experience, history, culture, and social relations on which it depends" [Tilly, 2000: 487]. Among the scholars who have criticized his work, Morris [2000] argues the account is US-biased, Wright [2000] claims the theory of durable inequalities is too general, lacking precise and dense scientific rigor, and Laslett [2000] claims Tilly's approach is too "structuralist" in not giving enough weight to human agency. Many more scholars have built on Tilly's theoretical framework.

Heller and Evans [2010] anchored their investigation of the local dynamics of democratization across various urban areas in the global south in Tilly's theory. In doing so, their work challenges the criticisms that Tilly's theory is necessarily US-centric and underestimates human agency. In fact, the authors write:

> *"Tilly's relational view of inequality avoids the overestimation of possibilities for agency that is inherent in the residualist view but nonetheless focuses attention on possibilities for contesting the political hegemony of the powerful. […] This point deserves emphasis because most analyses of inequality continue to focus on individuals and the various assets they possess. A relational perspective directs attention to how categorical inequalities work."* [Heller and Evans, 2010: 435]

Another notable example comes from Massey's [2008] book, „Categorically Unequal." In this study Massey examines social inequalities in the US and argues, through an approach closely connected to Tilly's account, that the inequalities faced by ethnic minorities arise from the human predisposition to put others into social categories. Finally, Voss [2010] has also convincingly argued the important value of Tilly's theory by presenting several examples of scholarship successfully applying his framework.

As a matter of fact, no theory is perfect. Theories provide tools and the scholars wielding should try to apply them wisely. In this research, while I remain aware of the possible limitations of Tilly's account, his relational approach to durable inequality and the possibilities it presents for extension to the issue of durable housing inequality offers a valuable analytical framework. Further, in my estimation the framework offers advantages in terms of its applicability in the global north as well

as the global south, its recognition of structural conditions interacting with human agency, and its focus on identifying and elaborating mechanisms that operate across geographic locations and structure versus agency binaries.

2.4 Tilly and Bourdieu: investigating how urban poor cope with the risk of displacement

Applying theory to research is never an easy task. For this research the task requires to apply Tilly's account to investigating how urban poor cope with the risk of displacement. To accomplish this task, I draw on other sociological frameworks for analyzing actor strategies (i.e., those of urban poor to stay put) that compliment Tilly's relational perspective. More specifically, I link Tilly's perspective to the closely connected work of Bourdieu [1986] on capital. This link is not entirely original. Tilly himself relied on Bourdieu's scholarship to produce his theory of durable Inequalities. And Bourdieu's seminal work can also be understood as relational in its approach [e.g., Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992]. Moreover, Bourdieu's work is complimentary to my research as he applied his conceptualization of forms of social and cultural capital to the housing market [Bourdieu, 2005]. In this account, he argued for a much broader interpretation of social class and its connection to housing markets. Furthermore, housing consumption demands more detailed analyses according to cultural capital and class identity. Years later, Bourdieu's [1986] framework for varieties of capital has been operationalized by Boterman [2012] for analyzing housing sub-markets (as I will detail in chapter five). Therefore, I simply provide a brief introduction to Bourdieu's concepts of economic, social and cultural capital and elaborate on their utility for explaining the strategies of the urban poor in response to durable housing inequalities.

Framing Bourdieu's theory, the 'field' under examination can be understood as containing distinct housing submarkets. Accordingly, each housing submarkets (sub-field) has its own 'doxas' or rules, as I will highlight in the next chapter, and explore most fully via examples in chapter five. In this context, sub-fields can be entered or exited by applying different sets of resources – by applying different amounts of deployable capitals. For Bourdieu [1986: 15], the broader concept of capital is, at its heart, "[…] what makes the games of society – not least, the economic game – something other than simple games of chance offering at every moment the possibility of a miracle". Thus, the concept(s) of capital(s) provide a crucial access point for analyzing social behavior within the fields and sub-fields of societal organization.

According to this theory, capital can take three primary forms: economic, social and cultural. In Bourdieu's [1986: 16] own words:

> *"capital can present itself in three fundamental guises: as economic capital, which is immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the form of*

> *property rights; as cultural capital, which is convertible, on certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of educational qualifications; and as social capital, made up of social obligations ('connections'), which is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of a title of nobility."*

Furthermore, as this description highlights, different forms of capital are transposable – one form of capital can covert or contribute to other forms. For example, if I interact on a friendship basis with many affluent people (e.g., share social or cultural capital with them), I am more likely to be able to accrue economic capital for myself directly through these networks or the trust they produce. In lines with Tilly's assertions, Bourdieu argues that economic capital "is at the root of all the other types of capital" [Bourdieu, 1986: 24]. The reason for this emphasis is explained in Bourdieu's work [1986: 16]:

> *"As everyone knows, priceless things have their price, and the extreme difficulty of converting certain practices and certain objects into money is only due to the fact that this conversion is refused in the very intention that produces them, which is nothing other than the denial (Verneinung) of the economy."*

Despite its importance, economic capital doesn't account for everything in terms of social stratification and inequality. It is always possible to convert cultural or social capital into economic capital, but major restrictions apply. Mainly, such conversions can have high transaction costs. They require a long-term commitment to these forms of capital (e.g., formal schooling as cultural capital) without an assured promise of return. In short, processes of converting social and cultural capital do not necessarily provide economic security. As this brief introduction suggest, economic, social and cultural capital are useful concepts for grasping the avenues through which the urban poor can cope with displacement pressure.

While Tilly's mechanisms provide an analytical framework for examining housing as a form of durable inequality and Bourdieu's concept of varieties of capital allows for a complementary vantage for accessing the strategies by the urban poor to stay put in a housing sub market, the concept of displacements as another crucial concept for unpacking housing dynamics. Displacements are important for understanding durable housing inequalities because they are a physical and social consequence of durable housing inequalities (e.g. when dwellers are evicted or relocated). They also capture mechanisms of those durable inequalities. For example, displacement via eviction demonstrates the exploitative power of the landlord over the housing and the landlord's power to evict the tenant. In terms of outcomes, Newman and Wyly's [2006: 51] study on the outcomes of gentrification-related displacements points to their impacts on different types of capital:

> *"Those who are forced to leave gentrifying neighborhoods are torn from rich local social networks of information and cooperation (the 'social capital' much beloved by policy-makers); they are thrown into an ever more competitive housing market shaped by increasingly difficult trade-offs between affordability, overcrowding and commuting accessibility to jobs and services."*

This account highlights the ability of displacements to reveal interconnections between Tilly's mechanisms (e.g., opportunity hoarding) and forms of capital, but the elements of displacement warrant further attention.

2.5 Examination of displacement as a critical concept

The term dis/placement consists out of two basic elements: the idea of placement and the idea of its removal. As the former implies someone or something being placed by someone or something else, the latter (evidence in the Latin prefix "dis") hints at a negative or reversing force. In short, the term displacement implicitly includes a process – a process wherein a weaker element of a system, whatever system that might be, is positioned and repositioned by a more powerful element of the system. Therefore, displacement, unlike relocation, suggests the imposition of an active force/dynamic/process.

But, does this linguistic understanding align with scholarly definitions of displacements? The standard definitions used in the majority of critical urban studies are derived from Grier and Grier [1980], or often in conjunction with a later extension of their definition by Marcuse [1985]. Grier and Grier's [1978: 480] conceptualization of displacement is relatively straightforward:

> *"Displacement occurs when any household is forced to move from its residence by conditions that affect the dwelling or its immediate surroundings, and that: are beyond the household's reasonable ability to control or prevent; occur despite the household's having met all previously imposed conditions of occupancy; and make continued occupancy by that household impossible, hazardous, or unaffordable."*

Their definition fits with the idea of displacement as a top-down process. However, it relies on the assumption that housing is already occupied or held and was previously secure. Marcuse recognized this limitation when he explored distinct forms of displacement and processes of gentrification.

Marcuse's [1985] extensions to the concept of displacement present it as more multifaceted. For one, he presents displacement as not only a matter of maintaining housing, but of accessing housing. He identified "exclusionary displacement," as occurring "when any household is not permitted to move into a dwelling, by a change in conditions that affects the dwelling or its immediate

surroundings" [Marcuse, 1985: 206-207]. Marcuse [1985: 205] also extended the concept, beyond the immediate household facing standard displacement (forced removal) or exclusionary displacement (access prevention), to include the "pressure of displacement". In his words [1985: 207], displacement is "affecting households beyond those actually currently displaced" based on changes in the neighborhood as well as culturally, socially, economically and service based. This crucial extension identifies households in a community that come to face housing insecurity or risks due to various conditions (e.g., gentrification or abandonment). These additions emphasize the experience of displacement as diachronic, not a single event or consequence in time but as long lasting over time and a reverberating in the fabric of many people's lives. Davidson and Lees [2009: 400] argue in the same direction when they emphasize the need to define displacement "as a complex set of (place-based) processes that are spatially and temporally variable. […]"

Accordingly, conceptualizations of displacement must conceive of it in relation to broader temporal, spatial and social contexts. Displacement is not only identifiable as something that happens to individuals or households, but also as something visible in local patterns of culture and consumption. As Cahill [2007: 218] adds to the discussion of gentrification-related displacements and the concept of "pressure displacement": "To focus only on those who have to leave the neighborhood loses sight of another dimension of gentrification: cultural displacement". This can include, for example, places and routines of social interaction created by a local population that become eroded through displacements and the in-moving population.

Of course, as with any multifaceted, dynamic concept, several conceptual weaknesses and methodological difficulties remain. One claim to this effect stems from the methodological issue of measuring what is called the "invisible" in displacement research. According to Atkinson [2000a: 309], "[d]isplacement is marked out by its near invisibility; where it has happened, no indicators remain". Indeed, studies measuring displacement in ways that are easily verifiable, replicable, or generalizable are rare because of how difficult it can be to trace displacement. Given the conceptualization outlined above, this holds particularly true for quantitative approaches to measuring displacement. The benefits and pitfalls of large-N research and quantitative measures are well known to sociologists studying a variety of processes. As Marcuse [1985: 216] noted many years ago: "If the scale of the analysis is too large, housing changes tend to cancel each other out". Instead, he suggested observation and measurement at the neighborhood scale. Echoing this insight and what has been learned since, Atkinson [2000b] identified three methodological concerns that exist regarding displacement research. I present the two that are important for my research undertaking: 1) the difficulty finding those already displaced and 2) the conflict between what is perceived as social reality and the social reality captured by quantitative figures.

Many of the weak points in conceptualizations of displacements relate to methodological issues. Displacement, as I am arguing, is more than a simple physical dislocation from a particular point in a city. Two quotes articulate the deeper impacts displacement has on individuals and the community better than I can present them. First, Hartman and colleagues [1982: 4] offer an argument about the stark, morally laden consequences of displacements:

> *"Moving people involuntarily from their homes or neighborhoods is wrong. Regardless of whether it results from government or private market action, forced displacement is characteristically a case of people without the economic and political power to resist being pushed out by people with greater resources and power, people who think they have a "better" use for a certain building, piece of land, or neighborhood. The pushers benefit, the pushees do not."*

Second, in a less emotional tenor, Cahill [2007: 219] links the importance of place attachment to the formation of identity: "Theories of place attachment and place identity suggest that the relationship to one's environmental surrounding contribute to the 'formation, maintenance, and preservation of the identity of a person, group or culture' " [see also Altman and Low, 1992: 10].

Displacement can counteract the creation, preservation and reproduction of identities to a specific places, homes, and neighborhoods (e.g., the perception of dwellers to belong to a particular community by living in a particular place). It can also reinforce social logics and categories, such as which groups have the right to the city or housing therein. In sum, multidimensional understandings of displacement coincide with multidimensional processes of inequality (Tilly's mechanisms) and the kinds of capital they influence (Bourdieu's economic, social, and cultural forms of capital). The following discussion fleshes out these links more explicitly.

2.5.1 Displacement is a consequence of exploitation

Displacement(s) can be understood as one of the most powerful examples of exploitation mechanisms. Tilly largely framed the exclusion element of exploitation in terms of controlling the "rewards" from the good in question and categorical exclusion. Direct or indirect spatial exclusion from particular housing, neighborhoods, urban infrastructures, or city resources fits this frame. Such phenomena fit the frame most obviously when displacements lead to the complete removal of the former residents and their socially constructed space within a neighborhood. If we remember the close connection between social position and spatial location, excluding a particular social category from part of the city affects that social category in terms of economic, social, and cultural inequality. It also provides the powerholders with greater command over the good in question. By limiting access, the owners of housing can increase its value. Limiting access to "value-reducing elements," such as the urban poor,

drug dealers, homeless shelters, and street violence, can take many forms. Ultimately, these oppressive actions increase the risk of homelessness, reoccurring episodes of homelessness, and displacement pressures. Keeping the urban poor population insecure in their housing, more of less forces the urban poor to adapt. Adaptation, as discussed earlier, makes inequalities more durable.

Through exploitation and adaptation (among others), displacement becomes durable. In what is a recursive process, displacement not only represents a consequence of housing inequalities, it is also an active element of exploitation. This interpretation may help to explain why the term displacement is commonly used to describe scientific and political positions towards specific forms of urban transformations (e.g., gentrification). The political side of this concept is apparent in scholarly debates [c.f., Harvey, 2006: 293]. To avoid some of these ideological conflicts, I suggest examining displacements as protracted processes for the ones affected – as durable – and as empirically observable as such.

2.5.2 Displacement is a complex process that spans over time and space

As a consequence of the diverse dynamics of unequal housing markets, displacements take on a diverse range of forms and dynamics. According to my own previous research findings [Facius, 2013], I assume that displacements vary between the different housing forms affected by urban transformations. These variations are patterned by various factors, including the form of transformation, location, and form of settlement as well as the historical background of a spatial area and any collective action or engagement on behalf of the neighborhood (e.g., a community organization or housing movement group). With these factors and processes of exploitation in mind, it is highly predictable that the frequency of displacement and eviction depends on the precariousness of the housing form (e.g., private rental housing, state-subsidized low-income housing, informal and extra-legal settlements). Therefore, I broadly hypothesize that the more precarious the housing form, the more likely are eviction and displacement.

It is important to further note, however, that the dynamics of displacement, specifically its consequences for the affected populations, also depend on where the displaced or those threatened by displacement are pushed. In other words, displacement affects the population to a different degree depending on whether they are displaced towards the outskirts of a city or in close proximity to their original housing. In some cities, urban policies towards in-situ relocation are more commonly applied. During the time of this research, such policies were common in São Paulo, thereby reducing the likelihood of frequent and ongoing physical displacements [Fatonzoun and Godard, 2002: 133]. In other cases, such as in Manila [Facius, 2013], former inner-city dwellers are offered new, government-built homes. However, due to the costs of building of new homes, in some instances thousands of new

houses, relocation sites are usually placed on cheap land – land in at risk areas, far away of the city's centers, without a decent infrastructure (e.g., transportation), or generally lacking in possibilities for creating a sustainable livelihood (e.g., jobs).

This directional feature of displacement dynamics is important for accounting for the experiences of those facing displacement, for more actor-oriented accounts, and relatedly for approaching displacement as an over time process. According to my own study of displacement in Manila [Facius, 2013], if dwellers are removed from neighborhoods without being given a relocation option, many urban poor prefer to stay in close proximity to their original neighborhood. Moreover, when urban poor communities are displaced towards relocation sites at the city's outskirts of a city, as often occurs with slum upgrades and big-scale development projects, a "cycle of displacement" becomes more probable [Facius, 2013]. The "cycle" concept attempts to mediate between the notion of displacement as comprised of many factors and contingencies and as an over time process. The "cycle of displacement" is characterized by a process of displacement from informal settlements within central districts to relocation sites at the outskirts, which is then followed by the "informal" return of the exiled or re-placed people to the urban centers and back into the informal settlements (see Figure 2).

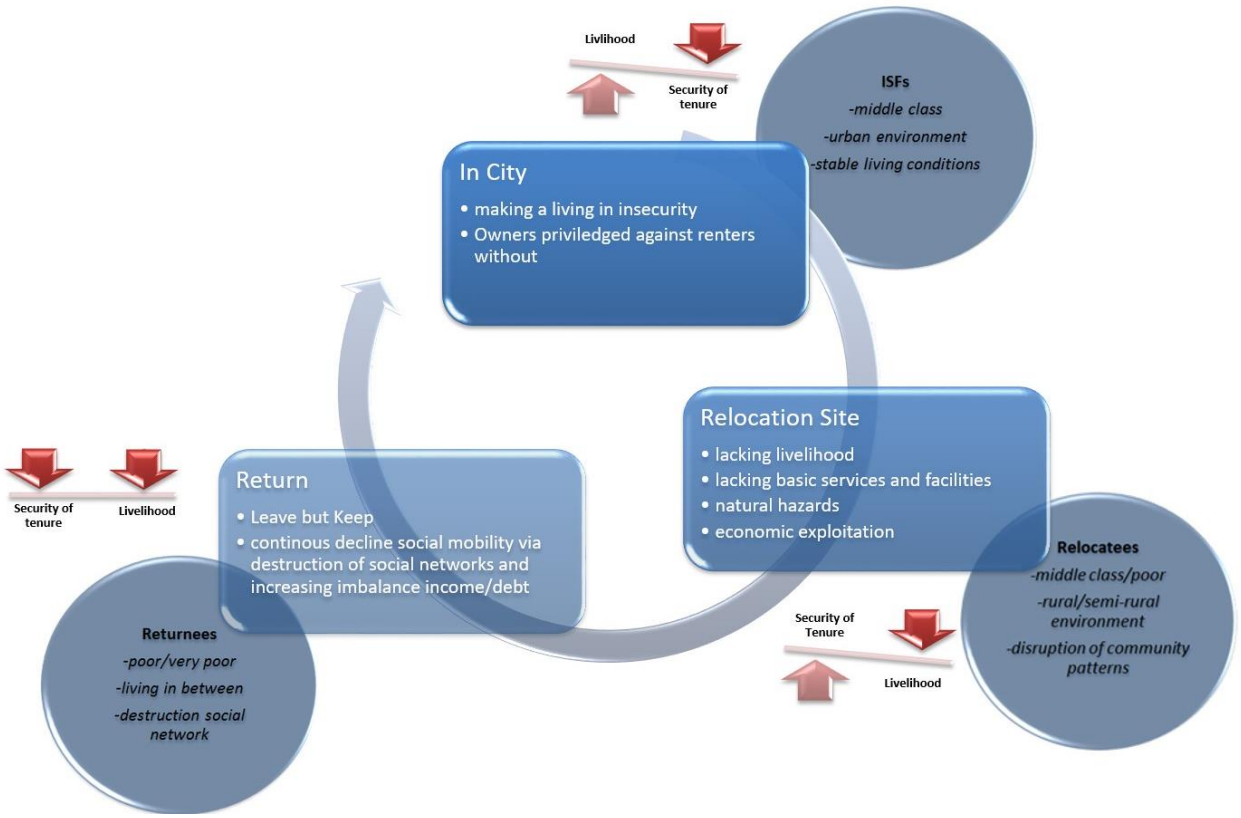

Figure 2: Cycle of Displacement [Facius, 2013: 75].

Cyclical displacement dynamics are rooted in four basic elements: a) the lack of livelihood opportunities, b) the lack of basic services and facilities, c) the impacts of natural hazards and d) economic exploitation. [Facius, 2013: 69ff] When such a process is ignited, situations of housing insecurity for the urban poor occur more frequently and are more prolonged. Prolonged and reoccurring displacement decrease and individual's chances for security, prosperity, and social mobility. This suggests that the urban poor may have higher chances of long term succeed in their struggles for adequate, secure housing if they reject relocation towards the outskirts of cities.

Although we can identify displacements and displacement pressure earlier or later in this cycle of displacement or other comparable cycles of displacement, the initial displacement is likely to have the greatest impact in increasing the likelihood of further displacement. This is because the initial experience of displacement is more strongly associated with the loss of various assets, material and intangible ones, which force the urban poor into other precarious dwellings and therefore increase the insecurity of tenure. Taken together displacements are not single events in one place and only at one particular time, but these factors matter to understanding displacement processes over several spatial locations and over longer periods of time.

2.6 The capabilities of the poor

The perspectives presented thus far may give the impression that the urban poor are merely submissive victims within overlapping systems and processes of inequality – but this is not the case. Tilly's relational theory of durable inequalities could better highlight the centrality of human agency[5]. Similarly, the other core theories and concepts of poverty as a multi-dimensional process and the urban poor as a heterogeneous group imply more than they explain how the poor are more than passive victims. Converting social or cultural capital into economic capital or into secure housing clearly suggests agency. It is also difficult, if not impossible, to persuasively claim that every one of the diverse groups of people that are bounded as among the poor or the urban poor have fully adapted to impoverishment, or to precarity, or take no action to challenge the inequality they perceive. Finally, framing the urban poor as passive victims can be tantamount to claiming they don't have any capabilities. This, in particular, is a difficult assertion to swallow.

Blokland et al. [2016: 15] offer a succinct definition of capabilities that highlights the difficulty of conceiving of their absence outside of a totalizing institution (e.g., prisons):

[5] Likewise, Tilly's [2006] concept of "repertoires of contention," which highlights the agency of actors and their rules of thumb, schemas, or habitus for handling certain situations. However, due to space restrictions I will not be able to elaborate on that further.

> *"[…] having something and put it in use (a valuable combination of human functionings), being able to do something (physical, mental condition, environmental diversities, non-personal resources, relative position) and, in addition to either one of these, and indispensable, having the means, instruments, or permissions to do so."*

Considering Bourdieu's theory, "having something" can mean having any form of capital. To be sure, "having the means, instruments or permissions to do so" – to capitalize on a form of capital – is clearly a strong set of constraints in the framework of durable inequalities and multi-dimensional poverty. However, these constraints do not entirely block agency or strategic action. The often daily struggle for survival, getting by or even getting along by the urban poor inherently points to taking action or to the notion of doing something. Drawing on Feld's [2016] elaboration of capabilities, Blokland et al. [2016: 20] note:

> *"[…] [C]apabilities to create lives and livelihood differ depending on the resources [someone] can create: most clearly [individuals] depend not just on means and instruments, but very much on being able to do the things they value doing (permissions in the broad sense and recognition on a meta-level)."*

Many researchers have focused on the various and creative capabilities of the urban poor. Notable examples include Philippe Bourgois' [2003] detailed ethnographic account of street-level drug dealers in East Harlem, Jennifer Hochschild's [1996] study of the 'American Dream' and how whites and African Americans see their opportunities in the US society, and William Wilson's [1987] classic analysis of inner-city poverty as stemming from the convergence of race and poverty. The work of and Mario Small, David Harding, and Michèle Lamont [2010] also stands out as a recent example of scholarly efforts to reconsider culture and poverty while avoiding stereotyping the urban poor as passive victims. Although some scholars and commentators label accounts such as these as "romanticizing" the narratives of urban poverty, this scholarship has proven critical in contributing to our understanding of the urban poor's capabilities to deal with the deprivations they face. They show that capabilities or forms of agency are not only available, but also routinely used by the urban poor. Therefore, it is useful to review a few examples illustrating the capabilities and lines of action enacted by the urban poor in their daily lives.

Daily routines

Auto-constructed dwellings or conversions and street art or graffiti provide two good examples of the creative capabilities of the urban poor. Auto-constructions are performed by a great amount of urban poor individually and most of the times include a long-term process of creating a housing option. As Caldeira [2017: 5], in reference to Holston [1991] explains:

> *"Residents are agents of urbanization, not simply consumers of spaces developed and regulated by others. They build their houses and cities step-by-step according to the resources they are able to put together at each moment in a process that I call autoconstruction (following the Latin American term for it). As Holston (1991) has also shown, each phase involves a great amount of improvisation and bricolage; complex strategies and calculations; and constant imagination of what a nice home might look like. Sometimes residents rely on their own labor; frequently, they hire the labor of others. Their spaces are always in the making. Thus, peripheral urbanization also involves a distinctive temporality; homes and neighborhoods grow little-by-little, in long-term processes of incompletion and continuous improvement led by their own residents. Peripheral urbanization does not involve spaces already made that can be consumed as finished products before they are even inhabited. Rather, it involves spaces that are never quite done, always being altered, expanded, and elaborated upon."*

Due to the prolonged construction process to create such dwellings and the limited resources for construction, vivid forms of solidarity and self-help networks for the dwellers can evolve within those auto-constructed dwellings [Holston 2008]. Moreover, and without question the auto construction of housing on a bigger scale, as seen in the favelas of São Paulo, trigger social change. Holston [2008] has given a sophisticated account of these activities and their importance, especially their effects and the consequences in terms of what he calls "developing an insurgent citizenship." Through this work, Holsten demonstrates that in spite of conjunctions of socio-political and spatial marginalization, the urban poor are not giving up. Instead, they are actively finding niches for survival that, importantly, represent the development of oppositional strategies in the daily life that challenge existing hierarchies.

Turning to the second example of graffiti, a similar oppositional strategy seems to be in evidence. On first glance, graffiti as a daily form of agency might appear to be stretching concepts too far. But as application of graffiti inscribes physical space and property, it's not too far-fetched. Pixação, a style of graffiti originating within the city of São Paulo over the last century, can be persuasively presented as a daily form of agency. Caldeira's [2015: 132] description of Pixação as a form of a daily routine with an impact does just that:

> *"Pixação has a much more transgressive relationship with the city and its public. It is writing in public spaces, usually in black and without figuration. Pixadores tag any type of surface or building, and their inscriptions are omnipresent in the city today, constituting a central mark of the public in any direction one wonders, from the center to all the peripheries. The idea is to inscribe onto the most impossible of spaces, to experience an adrenaline rush by risking personal safety. Pixação is about being recognized for one's daring deeds and the marks left all*

> *over the city. Violence, competition, aggressiveness, and adrenaline are ingredients in the type of masculinity it articulates. Pixação accepts the illicit as something both inevitable and desirable, as the only location from where young men from the peripheries can speak."*

With her quote in mind, spraying Pixação (or graffiti) is much more than vandalism, it is a form of expression for the marginalized youth, a means of creating a statement even if that statement is temporarily limited.

Reflecting back on the notion of capabilities as resource-dependent and as depending on "permissions in the broad sense and recognition on a meta-level," a link between graffiti as an expression and graffiti as a means to create capabilities becomes clearer. Pixação is not only a way of resisting the rules banning graffiti and the authorities who impose them, but also signals resistance to other city dwellers and can influence their perceptions of both the rules and ideas of how a city should look. Such examples of daily resistance reinforce Bayat's [2010] argument that scholars must draw a more holistic picture of different acts of agency and opposition in the global south. More specifically, he posits that "[…] certain distinct and unconventional forms of agency and activism have emerged in the Region that do not get adequate attention, because they do not fit into our prevailing categories and conceptual imaginations [Bayat, 2010: 4]. "Hidden" forms of agency or capabilities, those that don't easily map onto social categorizations or academic ones, are important examples of daily routines of the urban poor that highlight their agency.

2.7 Concluding remarks

This chapter has outlined concepts of the urban poor, durable inequalities, and the mechanisms and processes at play between structure and agency. The contemporary exploitation of the urban poor in terms of housing and their actions both sustain these inequalities by continuously reinforcing lines of categorical difference and challenging them have been discussed. Whereas state and non-state powerholders create lines of distinction – according to economic class, race, ethnicity and social status to name a few – that buttress their power and profits, the dwellers themselves sometimes inadvertently reproduce those inequalities to their own disadvantage via mechanisms of durable inequalities. These dynamics critically apply to the complex dynamics of (the risk of) displacement, especially when we recognize displacement as a consequence as well as a reproducing factor in housing inequalities. However, we must, in seeing poverty as multi-dimensional and the urban poor as a heterogenous group with heterogenous social interactions, attend to the creative and transgressive forms of agency or strategic action of the urban poor (i.e., the urban poor are not simply puppets in the game of the powerholders).

Having established this theoretical and conceptual framework – a complex picture of durable housing inequalities and the urban poor's agency within that system of displacements and displacement pressure – I now turn to the research question: How do urban poor deal with these forms of housing inequality? More precisely, how do the urban poor deal with the risk of displacement and what are their strategies? In order to do so, I will first present my research strategy and explain, how, where, why and with what kind of underlying considerations I collected my data and analyzed it.

3. Research strategy

This chapter describes my overall research strategy and design. In the broadest terms, I adopted a mixed-method, primarily qualitative approach to inquiry. However, many of the questions I address in this chapter are further upstream than the core research question of how the urban poor cope with displacement because they evolved alongside the methodological approach I applied while conducting the research. Before outlining the contents of this chapter, the logistical question of when (and where) I conducted the research merits brief mention. As I will explain in greater detail within this chapter, I began my fieldwork towards the end of 2014 and completed my fieldwork in early 2016. I spent a total of three months in São Paulo and a total of three months in Istanbul over the course of two visits to each city. More specifically, my first research visit to São Paulo occurred from September 15th through November 15th in 2014 and my second visit took place from February 23rd through March 18th in 2015. In Istanbul, my first research visit was conducted from September 30th through November 28th in 2015 and the second from March 7th through April 3rd in 2016[6].

In what follows, I detail how I chose to conduct the research and where it was performed. As with all research designs but in particular within qualitative studies, these choices are crucial to understanding the nature of my research findings and the larger contextual settings, academic discussions, and pragmatic policy issues to which they apply. As my underlying research strategy – my how and the where decisions – was partially inspired by comparative urbanism, I begin by discussing this approach and debates that have emerged from this body of scholarship. After establishing this anchor for the research approach, I developed I elaborate on my selection of the two cities and why I chose certain research sites within them. In the next step, I discuss how I conducted the data collection in the field, which methodological tools I applied, and where I see their relative advantages and disadvantages. In the final part of this chapter, I describe my approach for analyzing the data.

3.1 The Inspiration of Comparative Urbanism

Summarizing the field of comparative urbanism is no small task. Instead, I present it in broad strokes as they influenced my research approach. For one, compared to other approaches, comparative urbanism seeks to understand processes in terms of "what is true of all cities" [Nijman, 2007: 1], or what is true of the urban sphere, without hewing to conventional theoretical models or "one-size-fits-all" approaches to comparison. As Nijman [2015: 184] puts it, "[c]omparative urbanism is about

[6] Although I conducted the research myself, I was not alone in the field during these research periods in São Paulo and Istanbul. I was joined by O. Hildebrandt, who was also present during the data collections and supported me temporarily with the overall organization in the field and with the photographic documentation.

theoretical constructs but also about research design, methodology, observation and analysis [Nijman, 2015: 184]. The utility of this approach is closely connected to its skepticism of traditional comparative approaches and its ambition to provide explanations that recognize plurality in the causation of a social phenomenon while attending to identifying causative mechanisms at play in a variety of urban settings.

Scholarship from the field of comparative urbanism has begun to gain greater attention in recent years. Notable among this work is Gugler's [2004] comparison "world cities" in the global south with a special emphasize on South-East Asia, and King's [2004] case study comparison about how different phases of globalization effect architecture, design and culture in various cities. At the level of more meta-discussions about the field by some of its key figures, Roy's [2009: 819] seminal call for "'new geographies' of imagination and epistemology in the production of urban and regional theory," served as a catalyst for further advancing critical thinking in the field. In a similar vein, but drawing on reasoning from debates among post-colonial scholars, McFarlane [2010] calls for 'new modes' of comparison – particularly across the North-South divide. And Nijman [2015] and Peck [2015] have publicly debated the dominant theoretical accounts in comparative studies.

Reviewing the academic work and discourse about comparative urbanism, highlights its dynamism. Given numerous definitions, forms and claims about how to conduct research within the comparative urbanism framework, questions about its scientific rigor abound, including debates on 'urban convergence thru globalization' versus 'incommensurability of different urban spheres' [e.g., Robinson, 2011; Ren and Luger 2015]. This latter debate about the incommensurability of urban spheres is somewhat surprising because comparing different cities or comparing processes across different locales is a common strategy in urban studies as well as many other disciplines. What I think it tries to destabilize are taken for granted parameters of comparison or assumptions defined by constructed hierarchies between cities, such as developed versus underdeveloped, rich versus poor, or good governance versus weak governance. It's a call for scholarly caution when applying theoretical models or findings from one city, region, or state to another. From this perspective, implementing a transnational, mixed-methods field research design can contribute to deconstructing seemingly immutable hierarchies or categorizations. It can also build on existing theory if the same questions asked and answered in one setting are applied to another. In sum, my research draws on this literature and its internal debates in an effort to increase our understandings of "[…] how the experience of cities in the South might cause us to rethink urban knowledge and urban theory" [Lees, 2011: 166].

Moreover, the idea of incommensurable urban spheres or cities is problematic because cities (and concepts of the 'city') are heterogeneous in and of themselves. This is evident in Baharoglu and Kessides [2002: 129] discussion of differences between the poor and rich in the urban sphere:

> *"In cities, the poor and rich—with their different levels of assets—live together, and there are significant intra-urban differentials in social, environmental, and health conditions. Manifestations of poverty in urban areas can be strongly site-specific. It is important to know the social and physical conditions of different groups and neighborhoods within the city, the forms of deprivations that they suffer, and their numbers and characteristics."*

This quote highlights the problem of generalizability within comparative urbanism, not to mention other comparative scholarship (of social movements, of governance, or public policy). If we follow the conceptualizations of comparative urbanism, researchers must more consciously confront the issue of how to compare diversity between and within different research sites (e.g. when framing cases which might not fit a thick scientific definition between two different cities). According to Robinson [2016], by reframing urban theories and creatively applying different research instruments it is possible to overcome these hurdles or restrictions.

Of course, the flip side of creativity and reframing ideas and research approaches not only risks the possibility of conceptual overextensions (e.g., the concept of "framing" and its application), but also the possibility of creating a "theory-free zone" in urban studies [Blokland and Harding, 2014: 219]. Peck [2015: 162], building on his own work and that of others (e.g., Scott and Storper, 2014; Brenner and Schmid 2014), echoes these concerns:

> *"[…] there also seems to be a growing sense of disarticulation, dissipation and fragmentation. Some of this unease may stem from the fact that new members are belatedly finding their way into the once-exclusive club of urban theory, of course. But there is also a deeper concern, that the field might be losing traction in a protracted moment of deconstructive splintering. A decade ago, in the early stages of the unprecedented 'opening up' of urban studies, Taylor and Land (2004, p. 955) detected signs of 'conceptual disintegration', associating the proliferation of new urban signifiers with diminishing explanatory returns."*

Peck's account rightly suggests another line of caution for researchers. Successful research walks a tightrope between "conceptual and methodological experimentation" [Peck, 2015: 162] and, as Neil Brenner [quoted in Arboleda, 2014: 23]. puts it, "largely descriptive [but also] almost self-destructively anti-theoretical" case studies

In the face of such lines of caution, proponents of comparative urbanism have developed a number of responses, especially with a focus on re-evaluating on different aspects of the comparative process. I discuss three of these interrelated aspects of comparative research design that are under re-evaluation: a) case selection, b) choosing appropriate categories for comparison, and c) questioning the standard units of comparison in relation to their contexts.

3.1.1 Case selection

Several ideas about improving case selection have started to converge. I highlight two: selecting understudied cases and scrutinizing the status a case in terms of what it may be representative of or where it may fit into existing conceptualizations and research. Robinson [2016: 6] aptly described the reimagining of cases along these lines.

> *"More generally, for a renovated comparative method the status of the case itself needs to be reimagined, most notably in terms of how the relationship between cases and the wider empirical processes shaping particular outcomes is conceived, and also in terms of the potential for cases to inform wider conceptualizations, which is an important ambition of comparative strategies."*

This argument touches on the need for researchers to be aware of their hand in or their observational role in their selection of cases – cases are partially constructed by the researcher, they are not naturally occurring containers or concrete empirical objects, nor are they phenomena that exist outside of temporal, historic, and social dimensions of some "reality." Instead, reformulating standardized cases by choosing new sites and situating them into relational contexts from the more micro to the more macro-level can produce new insights into the urban sphere(s).

3.1.2 Choosing the categories of comparison

The question of choosing the categories of comparison is also relevant to case selection. Because comparative urbanism evolved next in relation to post-colonial critiques of economic theories of development, among others, conventional categories like the oft-applied global north-south divide should be reconsidered. Robinson [2016: 5-6], here again, emphasizes the need to revise such general global rankings as well as economic, political and regional categories:

> *"[…] [N]ew grounds of comparability need to be defined which enable all kinds of reasonable comparisons, and which can result in stretching theoretical concepts to the breaking point required for the reinvention of urban studies for global analysis, rather than simply reinforcing parochial and limited understandings […]."*

Such an endeavor, however, includes the previously discussed risk of stretching conceptual categories to the point where they are unmoored from academic foundations – that they become anecdotal or historical narratives rather than explanatory.

In other words, reframing categories of comparison must include some anchors to existing scientific knowledge and tools of assessment. If, for example, a new ground of comparability was to compare the 'new' middle class of Brazil with the middle class of Turkey, the concept of class could not be reimagined to the point that its connection to pre-existing conceptualizations or related ones (e.g., milieus) and to existing theories is entirely broken. Otherwise, the category would hold little relevance as a conceptual tool or empirical measure. Problematizing conventional categories by bridging existing theories or recognizing gaps in existing measures – in short by attending to evidence as well as existing scholarly explanations - can lead to the formulation of new categories, offer new points of comparison, and provide new insights into urban processes.

3.1.3 Re-evaluating standard units of comparison in relation to their contexts

As a consequence of the considerations described above, it has also become necessary to re-evaluate how we understand concepts such as place, scale and space. [Ward, 2008]. If the aim of comparative urbanism is to better explain urban processes, we should also be willing to revise standardized concepts of places, scales and spaces, at least in how we apply them in urban research. Ward [2008: 30-31] presents this aspect of re-evaluation:

> "Much of the contemporary nongeographical comparative literature on cities retains understandings of place, scale, and space that are rooted in the past. If there is to be a movement away from understanding cities as bounded and discrete units, and geographical scales as fixed and pre-given, is it still possible to perform comparative studies of cities?"

Ward's question points to a need to further synthesize theories from geography with comparative urbanism and, in doing so, reinforces the need for researchers to carefully select their cases and categorizations to attend to insights from fields that don't always use the same terms or methods. Just as the tendency remains "in much of the comparative urban studies literature to conceive of scale as self-evident," treating place, scale, and space in a "unidimensional and simplistic manner" can lock us into static explanations while the dynamics being explained continue to change [Ward, 2008: 32]. Bearing these interrelated considerations in mind and reflecting on the common, standard usage of "neighborhood" as a primary case form, category, and unit of comparison, I re-evaluate it for comparing urban processes within the broader framework of comparative urbanism.

This brief discussion discusses the advantages (e.g., innovations, theory-building) and disadvantages (e.g., hard to put into practice, many cautions) of comparative urbanism. While the idea of cities as multi-dimensional and not spatially fixed is somewhat state of the art in urban studies, many other questions remain unanswered. For example, how exactly should we frame "new grounds

of comparability," what do we lose in terms of "great theories" if we focus on the subjective experiences of individuals in different urban environments, and how do we avoid reinforcing power disparities when conducting research? Of course, these questions do not have simple answers. Therefore, what I take from the comparative urbanism approach are its demands for researchers to be self-critical in evaluating their study designs and research processes. In short, I take inspiration from the approach without completely following its framework.

3.2 Design Decisions: "Most-dissimilar" case study approach

Comparing different cities requires an approach to case selection and case definition. As emphasized in the previous discussion, these decisions cannot be made in a vacuum. Robinson [2011: 5] provides an excellent summary table (see Figure 3) of comparative tactics currently in use in urban studies (including some critiques) where she mirrors the comparative strategy and what causality assumptions they imply.

	Comparative Strategy/Basis for Selection	Causality Assumptions
Cannot compare	None	Plural and incommensurable
Individualizing	Implicit Any city Case studies not always comparative or theory-building	Historical and specific
Universalizing	Most similar or most different	Search for a general rule (universal)
Encompassing	Involvement in common systemic processes; often assumption of convergence as basis for comparison	Universal but potentially differentiated processes of incorporation into and impact of system
Variation-finding	Most similar: explain systematic variations within broadly similar contexts on basis of variables held constant or changing	Universal
	Most different	Either: search for universal causality across different contexts based on similar outcomes Or: pluralist causalities (Pickvance, 1986)

Figure 3: "Summary of urban comparative strategies and causality assumptions" [from: Robinson, 2011: 5].

Regardless of where one positions oneself in this table, comparative strategies are linked to certain causality assumptions. The first column, however, points to two central bases for case selection when seeking variation, when looking for general rules, and when looking for multiple causes or mechanisms: most similar and most different cases. This accords, more or less, with Pickvance's [1986] assertion that comparisons should either 'most similar cases' or 'most dissimilar cases' to arrive at logical explanations.

When applied in urban research, the most similar cases approach commonly compares somewhat similar cities in order to explain some difference or parallel change dynamic. Robinson [2011: 17] criticizes this approach as providing "quasi-scientific understandings of causality [which] draw our attention away from possibly the most important causal agent of urban processes, the space of the city itself". That is, she criticizes it when the space of a city is not treated as a crucial component of similarity or a crucial variable to be explained. The second common strategy, the most different or "most dissimilar" case study approach, is used for identifying a (independent) variable or factor that causes similar outcomes in the different contexts. However, this approach often assumes that mechanisms of causality are a universal. Neither path is ever perfect.

That said, Pickvance [1986] argues in favor of the most different approach from another angle. Mainly, he argues that comparing cases of great diversity is not intended to isolate a single causative variable but to reveal diverse processes and overcome ethnocentrism. Reviewing the advantages and disadvantages of both strategies for case selection, Pickvance convincingly argues that the resulting research of most different comparison offers more flexibility and scientific value because it doesn't assume unbiased similarity in the overall research design. In my case, while common central indicators for urban transformation must be evident across the cities, such as gentrification, and housing conditions across districts or neighborhoods in the two cities bear a family resemblance to one another (e.g., shantytowns and subdivided rooms) to limit the scope of the research, other features of the cities, such as dimensions of intersectional inequality among the urban poor (e.g., ethnicity, gender, dependents) or political systems (e.g., housing policies, laws, and rights) will be dissimilar. That is, I apply a most different case selection approach when it comes to the cities I select, but also select sites therein that are comparable in terms of similarities. I turn now to my cases.

3.2.1 Housing sub-markets and housing forms as the cases

In line with attending to calls for re-evaluating assumptions within comparative urban research and as alluded to earlier, we need question the contours of the 'units' being compare. As Wellman and Leighton [1979] recognized some time ago, researchers have to start somewhere in their inquiry and in the majority of urban studies cases, that somewhere is the neighborhood point of access. However, taking the neighborhood as the primary case unit in research can limit one's perspective on urban processes. Accordingly, to offer a different angle, I take neighborhoods into consideration, but select housing forms, as expressions of housing sub-markets, as the primary case units in this research.

To further elaborate on this point of critically assessing our concepts and tools, we must also reflect on the nature of cities as always in the process of becoming [Simone, 2010]. While it may questionable to investigate urban processes by comparing differing districts or neighborhoods within

a city or between different cities, it is important to avoid the rabbit hole of seeing reality as *so* complex that we can't pin anything down. Indeed, much contemporary, high profile comparative work, uses neighborhoods as spatial units for comparison. In many journal articles, edited volumes, and conferences neighborhoods provide a focal point for analyzing, comparing or interpreting social structures and their dynamics. As a unit, neighborhood is often treated as the equivalent of community and is still, therefore, understood as containing particular features and processes suitable for researching the urban sphere. Thus, neighborhoods have their utility as organizing concepts – concepts used by academics and practitioners (e.g., urban planners or city officials) of the urban – but they are neither the only unit for engaging in research on urban processes nor necessarily the unit that needs additional exploration. A large body of neighborhood research bears this out.

The idea that neighborhoods are an important unit for social analysis can be traced back to the Chicago School (named after the University of Chicago) of urban sociology. At this time, neighborhoods were perceived as stable and independent containers, socially homogenous in their constitution, and enclosed by clear zones in which similar patterns of demands and distributions could be found. Robert Park is well renowned for advancing this perspective, which applies ecological sciences to human life in urban space (e.g., urban ecology):

> "Park described the city as a mosaic of social worlds, where each group would find its natural habitat among equals, the idea being that various groups live in close proximity but are separated into their own environments." [Blokland and Harding, 2014: 24]

Park's rather functionalist account of urban life emphasized neighborhoods as 'social worlds' and, although Blokland and Harding [2014: 178] posit that "[…] urban sociology has moved away gradually from the assumption that neighborhood equals community", much urban research continues to comparing communities by comparing neighborhoods [e.g., Lees, Shin and López-Morales, 2015; Betancur and Smith 2016]. We now know that such abstractions can lead us to under-evaluate the mixed, sometimes even opposing attitudes, processes, flows and distributions within a given neighborhood. This, in turn to limited conclusions about urban processes.

Various urban scholars have addressed the issues of within-neighborhood differences and equating neighborhood with community in various ways, such as elaborating on "elective belonging" [Savage et al, 2005], the importance of social capital in a community [Putnam, 2000], the significance of neighborhood [Kearns and Parkinson, 2016], or by focusing on the importance of everyday interaction on the street [e.g., Bayat 2010], to name a few. On the basis of these accounts, certain key questions come to mind when considering applied research at the neighborhood level: is there a

difference between residents and local workers? How long must an individual or household reside in a neighborhood to count as part of the research? Does residency always automatically include place attachment? How should local processes be incorporated into the research when they do not originate in the neighborhood being examined? These questions indicate potential "shortcomings" in regard to pinning down the complex and fluid processes of neighborhoods as cases. As Blokland [2003: 12] clearly argues:

> *"[…] relations need not be local, that these local relations do not make the neighborhood an integral community, that bureaucratic neighborhood units are not automatically social units, that's partial determinism lurks, and that the normative connotation of community in this approach leaves much to be desired"*

Again, this is not to suggest that neighborhoods do not matter. For example, we know there is a strong link between spatial location and social position (as discussed in chapter two). It is to make clear the argument that we must be wary of how the concept of neighborhood is applied and open research to units of analysis within neighborhoods. Therefore, I sought cases that would allow me to answer the research question without using neighborhoods as the primary 'social units' under study. Instead, I consider both neighborhood dynamics and more micro-dynamics of urban change in my selection of housing forms as within two cities as my research units.

To explore the micro-dynamics of urban change and how people respond to these changes, I rely on an older piece of work by Harvey und Chatterjee [1974]. Harvey and Chatterjee raise questions about "micro-economic aspects" of housing markets. They write that "[t]hrough the structuring activity of governmental and financial institutions, urban space is differentiated into specific submarkets." [Harvey and Chatterjee, 1974: 33]. What I find striking about this quote is that they considered the urban housing market as differentiated into housing sub-markets. To elaborate on the different dimensions of housing sub-markets, Harvey and Chatterjee [1974: 27] including access factors, such as geographic location, ethnicity, class affiliation, as differentiated features of housing sub-markets. This means that specific accommodation forms reflect the interests of those supplying housing (e.g., state actors or business groups) to provide different forms of housing to specific social groups needing housing (e.g. based on class, ethnicities etc.). It also means that housing sub-markets are imbued with features that tell us about power and resource relations on both sides of the equation (i.e., the owners and the tenants).

Everyone needs housing, but different groups have different sets of resources and experiences and therefore have particular access or restrictions to specific housing-sub-markets Harvey and Chatterjee [1974: 33] explain those dynamics:

> *"In each of these cases, the opportunities are restricted in terms of the structure. But the absolute limits are also set geographically through the structured pattern of housing sub-markets within which specific conditions hold. "Absolute limits" means in this case the creation of absolute urban spaces within which producers and consumers of housing services face each other as classes in conflict. What transpires within each sub-market depends (1) on the internal conditions within that submarket and (2) on the interaction between sub-markets."*

To re-emphasize their arguments here: they too view housing as a good with 'absolute limits' and see this as a crucial for its contestation between housing producers and consumers. Moreover, they underscore the need to not only examine internal conditions within a sub-market but interactions between sub-markets. And, important for the connections I draw between housing sub-markets and existing conceptual tools (e.g., durable inequalities, forms of capital), when it comes to the supply of housing in specific housing sub-markets, tenants are agentic – not as passively dependent on the state or financial institutions.

Harvey und Chatterjee [1974: 33] regard this agency as including possibilities for housing consumers to exert social and political power on producers, establish their own sub-market through producing housing, or seek housing in other sub-markets:

> *"Tenants have a counter-power. They can, through the exercise of social pressure, expand their own sub-market and increase the supply of housing available to them, they can seek alternative accommodation in other sub-markets, or they can, by the exercise of political muscle, put on landlord profits by such means as rent control legislation."*

Notably, this understanding of housing sub-markets and their production recognizes the 'counter-power' (even when not sustained) of the auto-constructed dwellings that have rapidly emerged in the last decades in cities of the global south. It also critically recognizes that these non-traditionally produced accommodations, such as favelas or Gecekondus, can be housing sub-markets. Applying their conceptualization of housing sub-markets to understanding neighborhoods and more micro-dynamics therein, we can broadly view the urban poor as a heterogeneous set of dwellers (made of sub groups with particular experiences, resources and restrictions) who respond to and are confronted by constraints in various, differentiated housing sub-markets

Looking into micro-dynamics of housing sub-markets provides an excellent lens on housing for addressing the research question of how the urban poor respond to or cope with displacement. This is especially true after taking the next step of applying the concept of housing sub-markets to forms of housing. One need only think for a minute to come up with examples of different housing forms representing different housing sub-markets: suburban homes, low-income housing, condominiums, apartments, long-term stay hotels, shantytowns, and squats, to name a few. In addition to exhibiting

internal diversity (e.g., degrees of upkeep, newness, proximity to other things, etc.), the market concept is useful for its emphasis on interaction between housing forms and with the neighborhoods they are located in. In sum, it offers a differentiated look into urban dynamics that includes:

a) acknowledging the urban poor as a heterogeneous group,
b the housing market (and its sub-markets) as a segregated system with different barriers of access to different social groups,
c) recognizing that neighborhoods interface with more local urban processes, plus
d) illuminating 'informal dwellings', as more than an umbrella term, but as identifiable, differentiated housing sub-markets systems.

Although neighborhoods are clearly not the main focus, nor the case framed for this research, I do attend to them.

3.2.2 Key conceptual definitions:

In my study I understand "neighborhood" along the lines of Blokland's [2003: 213] definition: "a geographically circumscribed, built environment that people use practically and symbolically." Because of their dual-use (practical and symbolic), neighborhoods are produced and reproduced, perhaps on a longer-term scale of change and fluidity compared to their housing sub-markets, and therefore influencing individuals as well as the built environment. Notably, although this may be bureaucratically determined or altered by changes to the population and built environment, a neighborhood can be geographically circumscribed in ways that allow for a common frame of reference for residents, scholars, and so on.

Beyond the displaced, I also clearly desired research participants coping with the threat(s) of displacement. Hartman [1984] was among the first researchers to examine the victims of displacement. He identified categories of individuals at the highest risk for displacement: elderly, poor, non-whites, and large-households. His high-risk categories overlapped with my own experiences and those of my interlocutors, which led me to focus on these groups in the research. To be more precise, the urban poor this research focuses on can be described as follows: a) the inhabitants of a city, which belong to b) the group of the lowest income level (e.g. households in bottom fifth of income according to national standards), who c) are likely to be deprived of basic social services and possibilities of cultural as well as political participation, and d) who are living in one of the housing forms identified as housing submarkets. As the research question concerns local strategies, only residents and former residents of the research sites (housing form field sites) were asked to participate.

Housing forms as the cases for this research are understood as the physically, economically, and socio-culturally produced expressions of housing sub-markets to which particular groups have particular access to. Practically speaking, housing forms can be auto-constructed, constructed by states or governmental organizations, financial institutions, or other non-governmental organizations. They can take the form of shantytown settlements (e.g., favelas, gecekondus), occupied or squats ed buildings, public housing, laborer housing, converted housing (e.g., storage units, cortiços, single rooms), to name but a few.

Betancur and Smith [2016: 14], developing Harvey's account of housing submarkets, underscore how just as neighborhood identities can trump class identities, housing sub-markets can trump both:

> *"Clearly, individuals and households are limited to the submarkets they can afford. Harvey contends that residential differentiation through housing consumption further differentiates social reproduction by market segment, so that people cluster into their respective segments, neighborhood identity begins to trump class consciousness. Class consciousness is further fragmented as layers of social differentiation such as race, ethnicity, occupation, or age are added, resulting in place-based identities and hierarchies that emphasize such aspects over class. The result is a city that is fragmented into distinct housing submarkets that steer individuals to the particular residential formations that correspond to their class position and race, often segmenting them even further by class- subgroups."*

These arguments linking housing sub-markets to community identities fragmented according to housing forms and 'place-based' identities that map onto "layers of social differentiation such as race, ethnicity, occupation" [Betancur and Smith, 2016: 15], further reinforce the utility of housing forms as units for comparative research and framing them as housing sub-markets. In sum then, these are the three main angles: 1) sub-markets/housing forms; 2) displacement forms; 3) the responses of the urban poor displaced or threatened by displacement.

3.2.3 Method selection: a participatory mixed method approach

I chose a qualitative, mixed-method research approach to address the requirements of systematically valid research [Denzin, 2009]. Overall, participatory research methods were central to my approach:

> *"Participatory research methods are geared towards planning and conducting the research process with those people whose life-world and meaningful actions are under study. Consequently, this means that the aim of the inquiry and the research questions develop out of the convergence of two perspectives—that of science and of practice. […] The unity and justification of participatory research are to be found not so much on the level of concrete*

> *research methods. Rather, participatory research can be regarded as a methodology that argues in favor of the possibility, the significance, and the usefulness of involving research partners in the knowledge-production process […]. Participatory approaches are not fundamentally distinct from other empirical social research procedures. On the contrary, there are numerous links, especially to qualitative methodologies and methods."* [Bergold and Stefan, 2012: 2]

Therefore, my strategy followed a qualitative framework in applying many procedures stemming from this domain. These procedures included secondary data sources, semi-structured interview techniques, and, importantly, ethnographic participant observation. In terms of what I mean by mixed methods, I adhered to "qualitative dominant mixed methods." That is, "[…] rely[ing] on a qualitative, constructivist-poststructuralist-critical view of the research process, while concurrently recognizing that the addition of quantitative data and approaches are likely to benefit most research projects" [Johnson et al, 2007: 124].

In an effort to further ensure scientific rigor, the research triangulates among qualitative and quantitative forms of data. While I emphasize the qualitative data collection processes, I also draw on quantitative approaches (e.g., surveys and secondary source estimate) to utilize different data sources. This mixing of methods and data sources, as Johnson et al. [2007] argue, helps to demonstrate real correlations and processes between the indicators of the research [Feagin, 1991]. The inquiry can be broken down into three different research methods: two qualitative approaches and one quantitative approach. The qualitative approaches include conducting semi-structured, in depth interviews with residents and experts as well as first-hand, ethnographic observations[7]. The quantitative approach primarily consists of my development and implementation of a descriptive survey. The process of triangulation applied here is a strategy for decreasing artificial or biased findings because different methods and analytical tools increase the diversity of perspectives and therefore address the shortcomings of each method on its own [Denzin, 2009].

The inclusion of elements from the 'Participatory Research' domain is important to this inquiry. Mainly, participatory research approaches attune us to ways of equaling out the power imbalance between the researcher and his or her social environment.

> *"Knowledge, as much as any resource, determines definitions of what is conceived as important, as possible, for and by whom. Through access to knowledge, and participation in its*

[7] For reasons of a better readability, I will introduce the interview partners only briefly in the text·

production, use and dissemination, actors can affect the boundaries and indeed the conceptualization of the possible." [Gaventa and Cornwall, 2008: 176]

In line with comparative urbanism, participatory research offers tools for filling the gap between the observer and what is being observed so as to limit the influence of the former. As Gaventa and Cornwall [2008: 179] go on to explain, "[t]hrough a more open and democratic process new categories of knowledge, based on local realities, are framed and given voice". Other researchers advocating for PR are similarly critical of traditional research perspectives that claim greater accuracy or positivistic claims of objective "truth:" "traditional inquiry disconnects experiential knowledge, reinforces subjects' passivity, and obscures other voices" [Wallerstein, Duran, 2008: 32]. It is through participation that those involved in the research process from both sides feel they are taking part and having part. Only in combination do these two terms truly reflect the essence of participation and allow the researcher to better match social phenomenon with the concepts, experiences, and values of the residents. Consequently, this research aimed from its inception to include the research partners during the entire data collection phase.

Depending on the research context, however, several positions can be occupied by the researcher as well as from the targeted population – involving different levels of participation and involvement. [Herr, Anderson, 2005: 38-40]. As such, the opportunity to metaphorically open new spaces for insight depends upon the researcher's positioning on a continuum of possible positions. The similarities between ethnographic methods and participatory research become clearer through this discussion. As the researcher gets closer to the 'ones being researched', more spaces for participation and knowledge production can evolve. Of course, in both approaches, researchers must be systematic and self-reflexive. Therefore, the research objectives not only include gathering original data and developing theory through its analysis, but also to create spaces for exchange in knowledge production between those living the dynamics under study and myself [Bergold & Thomas 2012: 5].

3.2.4 Attending to methodological gaps or issues

In order to balance out or rectify some of the methodological shortcomings I experienced in my own research and read about it the works of others, I identify three issues which merit additional attention. These are 1) the required reflexivity of the researcher doing qualitative research, 2) language barriers and semantic considerations as well as 3) the temporal limitations of research. I discuss each of these three issues in turn.

1) *The reflexivity of the researcher*. In my particular case, reflexivity implies critiquing my own position as a white, male, Western-European, PhD candidate, conducting empirical research in a post-colonial city in the Southern Hemisphere (i.e., São Paulo) as well as in a Southeastern European,

predominantly Muslim city (i.e., Istanbul). Fortunately, longstanding scholarship in anthropology and postcolonial studies, among others, has already highlighted many of the risks associated with implicit attitudes in the practices of researchers from the global north in their attempts to interact with the 'Other.' Breuer, Mey and Mruck [2011: 433] propose a range of methodological instruments by which subjectivity can, through processes of self-reflexivity, eventually provide opportunities for gathering new knowledge. These instruments include a priori explication of preconceptions, the writing of memos (or field notes), and working with a group of researchers and residents to allow for self-reflection.

I applied these instruments continuously while in the field, including a research diary, and found them to be supported by the participatory research framework. In many instances, I engaged translators, residents, activists, or other local scholars in discussions about my impressions of site visits, demonstrations, or interviews and even, in some instances, engaged them in discussions about the questions I was asking in interviews and surveys ahead of time. We often spent several hours together in their homes, in cafes, restaurants, or community centers, and on the streets even if the initial purpose of the meeting was a brief conversation or visit. On many of these occasions and in many of these settings, I had the opportunity of meeting not only the individual research participant, but also their family, friends, or neighbors. In the quiet moments in between these encounters, often at night, I spent time writing my field notes and writing in my research diary. As my field notes first took the form of verbal recordings, I had an additional chance to reflect when I transcribed them. Moreover, my spoken recordings permitted my thoughts to move faster than my handwriting.

2) *Language barriers.* As I do not speak Portuguese or Turkish fluently at all, an obvious language barrier influenced how I conducted the qualitative research. Lauterbach [2014: 18] has explored this issue and suggests that "community interpreting" can be a highly appropriate way to mediate communication between the researcher, the interviewee, and the interpreter (especially when considering the discussions mentioned above). This approach may even increase mutual trust and understanding because it can undermine assumptions of power relations in terms of 'us' and 'them'. The translator can be a part of the community to varying degrees and translation allows room for corrections, follow-ups, and clarification. As part of accomplishing this, I reached out via social networks to the urban poor and their peers living in dwellings likely to be among my research sites, to identify individuals with English language skills and willing to cooperate with me as interpreters. As few among the urban poor speak foreign languages, I sometimes relied on nonpoor translators closely affiliated and connected with the people on the ground. Ultimately, I am confident that organic and familiar interview situations were established through my close cooperation with several translators (see Table 3).

City	Translator	Linkage to the research participants
São Paulo	Yuri	Lives in the southern periphery of São Paulo and has worked for years as an employee at the Gaspar Garcia Human Rights Center in downtown.
	Isaac	Lives in Paraisópolis and has worked there as a community organizer for a long period of time at the União dos Moradores e do Comércio de Paraisópolis community center.
	Enca	A scholar who has spent years in Vila Nova Jaguaré doing qualitative research about life trajectories of the urban poor living there.
Istanbul	Handan	A neighborhood activist living in Tarlabaşı who has developed close connections with the local residents over her many years living there.
	Süleyman	Lives with his family in a Gecekondus closely located to Serigöl, in the Gaziosmanpasa district and an active member of the Gaziosmanpaşa Housing Council.
	Kıvılcım	A gay man who formerly lived at Tarlabaşı and is friends with members of the *Trans community in Istanbul.

Table 3: Overview of the community translators.

Establishing a cooperative, transparent relationship usually took several meetings in each 'site.' Once a trusting relationship was established, the interpreters and I prepared for interviews through discussions geared towards making them familiar with my research and the questions to be asked. Furthermore, we discussed the semi-structured questionnaires for each research site and how to conduct them in great detail. Our conversations about the questions provided me with highly valuable input as many of the translators were familiar with the daily lives of the interview partners and survey recipients. As I touched on when describing reflexivity, the translators helped me prepare for the research setting and helped be reframe questions when necessary. Only once these preparatory tasks were completed did we conduct the interviews. Figure 4 visualizes this process of community translation.

Figure 4: Procedure of community translated interviews, by author.

In addition to direct interpretation, every interview was audio-recorded from start to finish. This enabled me to have each interview translated by a professional interpreter at the end of each research phase. Through this approach, I gained an additional vantage beyond being present within the interview situation (e.g., almost immediately and flexibly responding to answers). While I utilized the professionally translated transcripts for coding, experiencing the dialogue first-hand also informed my interpretations. These different angles and cooperative processes reduced the potential impacts of ambiguity in local phraseology, etc. Take the example of one of my interview partners in São Paulo who spoke frequently of a 'rat-disease'. Fortunately, one of my interpreters knew the term, knew that the interviewee was referring to leprosy contracted via rat bites.

3) *Temporal limitations.* The overarching temporal limitation for my research concerns studying temporally moving targets. Although not a new problem for researchers, temporal constraints spread beyond the nature of the subject to issues of generalizability and unobserved factors. Importantly for my study, urban transformations, such as gentrification, displacements or policy alterations, occur more or less continuously, however, within these transformations there are particularly decisive or critical moments, such as physical evictions. Although I tried to capture these dynamics and decisive moments through follow-up interviews several months after the first field research phase, it was not possible to capture all of them over the research timeframe. But the two phases of fieldwork in each city did allow me to develop a sense of what took place in between each visit and what moments I needed to be on lookout for.

This issue is further highlighted when it comes to political changes in both countries (Brazil and Turkey). Shortly after my departure from the research, Brazil's political environment was shaken up by various corruption scandals involving basically the entire national political elite. Similarly, after I left the field in Turkey, its national political environment was rocked by terror attacks and a putative coup

de etat. These developments could not be included in the research. While they are very likely to affect the urban poor included in this research, my focus on more meso- and microlevel dynamics in the urban sphere suggests that my findings can still be applicable to other sites and can inform studies that start from a the macrolevel of political regimes or nation states and their top-down impacts on urban dynamics.

To conclude my discussion of methodological considerations and issues, the issue of conducting research according to ethical standards was not lost on me. Throughout the entire research process, my methods and data collection followed the ethical code of conduct framework provided by the International Sociological Association (approved by the ISA Executive Committee, Fall 2001).

3.3 Conducting the research

As outlined in the introduction to this chapter, I began my first field research phase in the city of São Paulo, Brazil and then went to Istanbul, Turkey for an initial phase of research there one the data collection in São Paulo was completed. Because of the different facets and diverse urban dynamics in different parts of the cities of São Paulo and Istanbul, I deemed it necessary to focus on several potential housing sub-markets for my research. Having never been to either country before entering the field, this decision was strongly influenced by secondary sources on the countries and cities as well as urban studies scholarship pertinent to my interests. This is to say that although I gathered and synthesized information about the housing circumstances in each city and particular neighborhoods beforehand by reading existing literature, talking to other scholars, and conversing with students and activist who had spent time in these areas, I did not completely know what to expect.

Following this beforehand 'advice', I chose to live in neighborhoods where I anticipated finding research cases in close proximity and to reinforce my ethnographic field experience. I ended up residing in the 'Cracolândia' neighborhood in São Paulo and the neighborhood of Tarlabaşı in Istanbul. After arriving in each city, it took me a few days to acclimate myself to the local environment of each city and neighborhood, to reach out to other scholars, and to initiate first contact with residents, activists, and political or residential organizations. In those first days, I relied on local expertise (from scholars and activists) to double-check the information and 'advice' I had already collected about São Paulo and Istanbul. I then went into various neighborhoods to identify additional signs of urban transformation and varieties of displacement. Thanks to the collaborative process, I found 'gatekeepers' to grant me access to different housing forms and people among or through the local activists and scholars. These gatekeepers facilitated the continuous expansion of the social network in each city I had access to. As in the technique of 'snowball' sampling, one contact led to another.

Of course, not all of the contacts I made ultimately opened the gates to me as I'd hoped. Sometimes I found myself in a neighborhood with a favela or a Gecekondus, which could have been an interesting case but that was either not suitable for my research or inaccessible to me. However, such 'detours' provided additional insight into the specific urban dynamics of each city e.g. in terms of urban im- and explosions [Brenner, 2013]. This is what happened, for instance, when I visited favelas in the East or South of São Paulo and learned about the living condition in those peripheries. It also happened when I went into the far periphery of Istanbul and heard the narratives of the local residents about how they are affected by urban transformations taking place in the urban centers of Istanbul.

Nevertheless, over the months I resided in each city, I was able to gain routine access to several more or less informal housing forms, including favelas and occupied buildings. Through frequent visits, I not only learned about and became familiar with the everyday lives of the dwellers, but the dwellers also became familiar with me to the point of trust and friendship. Initial access was mainly anchored in personal connection developed with other scholars or activists in the field and who had some relation to the dwellings of interest. Without them many dwellings would have been closed shops or even risky for me. I assumed the "Primeiro Comando da Capital[8]" (PCC) in the favelas of São Paulo and the drug dealers in Tarlabaşı are important figures for the social dynamics in those areas. Of course, I also assumed they would not welcome me to their trust with open arms. However, over time and through personal references, I was able to convince even these individuals that I was harmless – or at least, not an appropriate target. This account indicates how the decisions I made about selecting each research site were impacted by several considerations (e.g. the importance of the particular housing submarkets for the overall housing market in the city, evidence of urban transformation and displacement pressure, access in terms of security and safety). In the next chapter, I present a thick, detailed description of each case and its neighborhood within each city.

Identifying the appropriate research sites and gaining access to them is only on part of conducting empirical research. As I have already alluded to, finding the individuals, the resident or dwellers targeted by the research question is another core consideration. A major methodological issue emerges immediately when studying displacement dynamics and how urban poor populations experience them: the issue of 'finding the invisible'. As discussed in the previous chapter, several authors have elaborated on this issue of identifying and engaging those people who have been eradicated or marginalized from the facade of urban communities. Atkinson [2000: 309], for example, describe the methodological constraint when they note that "displacement is marked out by its near

[8] The criminal organization is based largely in the state of São Paulo but is also active in some other state of the country. Since its inception, PCC has been responsible for several criminal activities such as prison breaks, prison riots, drug trafficking and highway robbery, but has also helped to structure an organize some of the neighborhoods in which state forces did not enter. The name refers to the state capital, city of São Paulo.

invisibility; where it has happened, no indicators remain". Despite the hidden quality of displacement and displacement pressures, not to mention how they are routinely confronted, indicators remain both before and after displacement. The challenge is accessing these seemingly invisible indicators [Newman and Wyly 2006]. According to Newman and Wyly [2006], the issue of finding the displaced is rooted in the places where the researchers look for them. In other words, as with discovering the secret of a magic trick, the application of methods that are sensitive to the living knowledge as well as an informal environment (e.g., participatory research methods), it is possible to locate displacement and the displaced or displacement pressures and those threatened by displacement.

My incorporation of local agents (individual residents, community or human rights organizations, and translators) into the participatory research process made access to the local population still living in the neighborhoods possible and assisted me in finding those already displaced from my research sites. Here, again, the majority of cases took the form of 'who knows who'. To give an example of those unveiling processes: One day, Süleyman, one of my community-based translators and I walked down a particular area of the Gecekondus neighborhood in Gaziosmanpaşa, Istanbul where several buildings had been demolished and many families currently faced displacement. We received, unexpected attention from the local residents as they saw us walking slowly through neighborhood, taking pictures, and stopping here and there for a more detailed look. One women approached us after a while, thinking Süleyman was a real-estate agent and that I was his client looking for places to invest. Once she learned why we were walking through her neighborhood, her initial anger transformed into interest. She offered to become an interviewee shortly after we began speaking with her. After a while, Süleyman came to ask her if she knew people who used to live in the neighborhood but had to move away, she proceeded to give us contact information to these former residents. With Süleyman's assistance, the leads led to a number of interviews with displaced residents. This experience, when keeping Süleyman in mind as a translator and the access I gained through certain gatekeepers, serves as an exemplar of the 'snowball' sampling I used across research sites.

Having explained how I gained access to the research sites and how I found the displaced, I now shift the focus towards the different methods I applied. The primary tool, though not my only tool, of research was participatory semi-structured interviews with residents and experts. As described by Fontana and Frey [1994: 366], my interviews "aim[ed] at capturing precise data of a codable nature in order to explain behavior within pre-established categories " and "used in an attempt to understand the complex behavior of members of society without imposing any a priori categorization that may limit the field of inquiry." Depending on the context of the interview, some lasted several hours, while others lasted a few minutes. Not all interviews were scheduled ahead of time. This was particularly

true in the favelas and squats where this was not always possible due to the routines of work, family and other errands in the lives of research participants. These interview scenarios were usually more spontaneously organized and required flexibility.

In addition to local residents, I also identified 'experts' who might offer crucial insights into the overall housing situation, the living circumstances of the neighborhoods in which the dwellings were located, or new points of contact. The experts I spoke with offer another range of voices and experiences, such as the architect in charge for the urbanization project in the Vila Nova Jaguaré favela, a former activist from Partido dos Trabalhadore ["Worker's party"/ PT] who is now a professor at Universidade de São Paulo [USP], the mediator between home owners and the municipality in Tarlabaşı, and the head of the department for social affairs in Kadiköy, Istanbul. My interviews with these experts provided additional information from a vantage outside that of the local residents, which not only increased the diversity of perspectives, but also included perceptions that challenged some of the statements made by the urban poor research participants.

Visiting each city twice as part of the research strategy proved highly advantageous for finding new interviews, conducting follow-up interviews, and expanding my temporal picture. Once I returned to the cities for the second time, I conduced many follow-up interviews with individuals whom I had interviewed during my first visit. As a result, I was able to grasp not only the current snap-shot of the displacement pressure as well as, the consequences over a longer period of time. While I was not able to reach out to every research participant displaced during my absence, I was able to reconnect with many by using the same contact information or through other individuals I was cooperating with. For example, after PCC evicted Cida from her cortiço room, she moved to a completely different area of São Paulo, changed her phone number, and her job. Luckily, the employees from Gaspar Garcia reached her by accident and made it possible for me to conduct a follow up interview with her. In another case, in Istanbul, I conducted an interview with Şadi , a former resident of an SRO in Tarlabaşı who was homeless during my first stay in Istanbul. When I returned to the city months later, I couldn't locate Şadi but a friend of hers knew where Şadi usually worked as a vendor on İstiklal Street. On our second attempt searching for her at a street stand selling toys for tourists in front of a coffee shop, we found her, and she agreed to a follow up interview.

Another significant method was the participatory, ethnographic fieldwork. This approach encourages deeper understandings of the subtext of personal interactions, cultural sensitivities, and a familiarity with the setting that by becoming part of the social, cultural and environmental fabrics. 'Becoming part' of the field involved a number of participatory practices. Partially on the basis of my decision to reside within the neighborhoods where I was conducting research, I was able to participate in the everyday life activities of the neighborhood and its residents. Overall, I tried to spend as much

time as possible with my research partners in their known environment. This meant going with them to their preferred places of recreation, community meetings, demonstrations, and so on. I also met with many of my research partners while they completed their daily activities, such as cooking, buying groceries, playing with children, cleaning the household, etc.

Following Bortz and Döring [1995: 245], I adopted mixed form of participant observation: undercover observation as well as more and less systematic observations. I often went on site visits at different times of the day to better understand the daily cycles of the neighborhood, such as patterns in when different people come home from work, when and where certain groups socialize on the streets. To better explore local interactions in quasi-public and commercial spaces, I spent time at bars and cafes, street fairs and local farmers markets. To reinforce these efforts to remain 'undercover', 'become part', and blend into environment, I also frequently took walks through the neighborhoods and didn't take photographs. Finally, I also visited areas the neighborhoods where no case was located in order to understand histories, narratives, and potential stigmas directed at particular areas. For instance, Istanbul's Sulukule neighborhood received a great deal of attention a number of years ago because an upgrade project was underway. The Roma community there was slated for eviction to make space for the construction of middle-class condominiums. Despite strong resistance against it, the community was displaced. Although the neighborhood didn't contain a research site, visiting it after the construction of the new homes enhanced my comprehension of the emotional and cognitive dimensions of what such renewal projects can mean to threatened communities. My visit of the favela Moinho in São Paulo served a similar purpose. As explained earlier, I wrote extensive field notes on these experiences applying the protocols of Emerson, Fretz and Shaw [2011]. Aside from serving as a tool for personal reflection, the field notes offered me a rich source of information within the data analysis and became integral part of the overall research.

The third method, a descriptive and explorative and not representative survey in form of a questionnaire was conducted in a participatory manner to buttress the qualitative data. The goal of this method was to engage a larger sample to see how representative the interview statements were of the larger population. It also served as a check on the other qualitative sources of data. Basically, the questionnaire explored attitudes, values, opinions and beliefs as well as collected factual information (e.g. socioeconomic background and biographical information). My approach to designing the questionnaire was similar to my iterative process for arriving a key interview questions. As mentioned earlier, in addition to relying on existing scholarship, I informally tested the survey instrument via discussions with collaborative partners. These included discussions with scholars about the nature of questions likewise as the debate with research participants about the questions asked. However, designing the instrument was distinct in that I used my preliminary analysis of commonalities

and differences between the different housing forms from the qualitative data collected from my first visit to each city to develop the questionnaire.

Once again, the structuring of the research into two separate visits to each city was very productive. To reiterate, my rough analysis of the qualitative data, experiences collecting, and discussions with local partners informed the design of the survey questionnaire deployed during my second visit to each city. Once the survey instrument was complete, it was translated by one of the interpreters. Although the translation process generated some revisions, alterations, and replacements, the questions were made more appropriate for each case. This was confirmed by results from a pre-testing of the instrument in each locale.

To conduct the survey in line with the principles of participatory research and the pragmatism of feasibility given my language barriers, residents from each of the research sites were asked if they would be interested to distribute the surveys. The distributors and I discussed the survey – its aims, the specific questions, random sampling methods, and how to perform a questionnaire orally conducted[9] by the distributors at the local site in general. To compensate the distributors for their time and assistance, and to create an additional incentive for collecting completed surveys, I offered them two Euros in the local currency per completed questionnaire. The advantages and disadvantages of this approach are well known. In terms of the advantages in my case, I was able to conduct an exploratory survey that reached a large number of participants (see Table 5 below). In terms of the disadvantages, the quality of the data gathered was not always as precise as expected. Moreover, because I did not attend each of the survey distributions, I did not have full control over the process, which forced me to carefully examine the output from each questionnaire – after the collection and again after entering the information into SPSS – to determine whether the responses and figures made sense or not.

Despite these disadvantages, mistakes and errors in the quality of the data were also likely to have occurred if I had distributed the surveys myself. In addition to the language barrier and the high probability of a lower response rate as a result, people may not have answered a survey from me as honestly as one coming from a peer or they might have simply opted out because I appeared as a stranger. The later point highlights why I chose residents as distributors. I assumed an increased response rate because of their language skills, familiarity with the site and because of their greater access to certain areas and dwellings (e.g., because of security issues, time restrictions, or personal constraints of the local residents). Therefore, I considered the life worlds of the urban poor in São Paulo and Istanbul when selecting distributors: who are the residents, who are well known in a

[9] This was for example a suggestion by one of the community translators to be able to include into the survey also illiterate individuals.

research site, who has access to a greater population or the entire area of a dwelling, as well as who can effectively reach individuals likely to be skeptical towards a foreign researcher? Ultimately, as the Table 4 shows, I selected a variety of distributors.

	Research site	Distributors
São Paulo	Favela Vila Nova Jaguaré	Five local health care agents
	Favela Paraisópolis	Two employees from the local community center plus three social workers from Serviço de Assistência Social vai atender famílias de Paraisópolis during their outreach
	Occupation by movement Anhangabau	One coordinator of the squat plus four dwellers from the occupation
	Occupation by non-movement Faria Lima	One coordinator, her son and two dwellers from the occupation
Istanbul	Gecekondus Gaziosmanpaşa	Four members of the Housing Rights Council
	Housing from the Armenian church and single room occupancies "SROs" Tarlabaşı	One employee from the local community center
		The owner and two of his employees of the local convenient store (Bakkal)
		Two residents plus four drug dealers

Table 4: Distributors of the questionnaire by research site, by author.

As this table illustrates, the distributors conducting the survey at each site were selected according to their access and 'fit' with the local conditions.[10] In Tarlabaşı for example, where there is a flourishing market in illegal substances, the local drug dealers are well known by the residents and usually well informed about where different people live. Notably, however, the drug dealers were not the only distributors at that site. I selected the local health agents in the favela of Vila Nova Jaguaré as survey distributors because they frequently visit distinct parts of the favela and have a good reputation in the neighborhood.

In terms of the survey data collection, Table 5 presents an overview of the research sites where the surveys were conducted, the number of questionnaires handed out, the number returned, and the resulting response rate. Across the two cities, a total of 350 surveys were returned and the overall response rate was 68 percent. Two outliers substantially lowered the overall response rate: The favela

[10] With the exception of the cortiço in São Paulo, I was able to gather quantitative survey data at every research site. At the cortiço, safety and security concerns for the local dwellers prevented distribution of the questionnaire.

Paraisópolis in São Paulo had a 30 percent response rate and the 'Single room occupancy' in Tarlabaşı, distributed by community center, had an even lower response rate (5%).

City	Research site	Questionnaires handed out	Questionnaires returned	Response rate
São Paulo	Favela Vila Nova Jaguaré	**50**	**49**	**98%**
	Favela Paraisópolis	**100**	**48**	**48%**
	Occupation by movement Anhangabau	**100**	**83**	**83%**
	Occupation by non-movement Faria Lima	**50**	**48**	**96%**
Istanbul	Gecekondus Gaziosmanpaşa	**110**	**74**	**67%**
	Housing from the Armenian church and single room occupancies "SROs" Tarlabaşı (distributed by community center)	**20**	**1**	**5%**
	Housing from the Armenian church and single room occupancies "SROs" Tarlabaşı (distributed by convenient store)	**35**	**4**	**11%**
	Housing from the Armenian church and single room occupancies "SROs" Tarlabaşı (distributed by residents and drug dealers)	**50**	**43**	**86%**
		515	**350**	**68%**

Table 5: Questionnaire totals by research site.

To review, I utilized different data sources in an effort to overcome the disadvantages of each individual method [Feagin, 1991: 15]. This process included careful reflection about each data source and method as well as putting the results in relation to the other sources and results. Given the diversity among the distributors, the quality of the responses, and variation in response rates across the sites and the cities, I cannot claim that the survey is representative or without bias. Also, while I was able to conduct at each research site at the minimum n=30, I received only four questionnaires back from residents living in houses provided by the Armenian church. Therefore, I excluded them from the quantitative data, but included the qualitative data into the research (see Table 6). That said, the quality of data proved sufficient for my exploratory agenda and desire for the results to provide a different vantage to the sites; that is, as a tool for triangulating across the different forms of data. In sum, the various approaches offer various perspectives and achieve a greater diversity of voices. While Table 5 (above) shows the outcomes for the quantitative data gathering, Table 6 shows the various forms of qualitative data collected by the end of the field research.

São Paulo (1st and 2nd research phase) 09/15-11/15/2014 and 02/23-03/18/2015	Istanbul (1st and 2nd research phase) 09/30-11/28/2015 and 03/07-4/03/2016
In total 18 interview partners with local urban poor from the different housing sub-markets. Several of them got interviewed for follow ups, too.	In total 15 interview partners with local urban poor from the different housing sub-markets. Several of them got interviewed for follow ups, too.
9 talks with various experts, such as scholars, activists, organizations etc.	10 talks with various experts, such as scholars, activists, organizations etc.
150 field notes	123 field notes

Table 6: Summary of qualitative data collection efforts, by author.

Having detailed the data collection processes, I turn now to l the coding and analysis procedures.

3.4 Quantitative and Qualitative analyses

A major advantage of conducting a comparative study of two different cities and several neighborhoods within each city is that it provides two axes of comparison: the inter-urban comparison and the intra-urban comparison. Both have strengths and weaknesses. While a solely inter-urban comparison risks over-simplifying and therefore missing crucial details, intra-urban comparison can risk the opposite and limit generalizability. Applying both forms of comparison offers a broader picture. Therefore, in the first step I chose to analyze each city (São Paulo and then Istanbul) independently by looking at the qualitative data, then the quantitative data, and then the two sets of data in conjunction. Once I felt understood each housing form case in the city of São Paulo, I moved on to the city of Istanbul. An intermediate step in this process for the city of São Paulo was to plan and conduct a photo exhibition and accompanying book for the Friedrich Ebert Foundation and their annual international week in Berlin, which is themed "Time for justice" in 2016.[11] This intervening step afforded me an opportunity to process what I had learned from São Paulo – to reflect on the findings and challenge my initial conclusions from São Paulo through discussions with a broader audience. To describe the analyses, I conducted in greater detail, I start by explaining the quantitative data analysis before turning to the qualitative data analysis that contains multiple forms of data.

[11] The exhibition, which I developed and conducted in cooperation with O. Hildebrandt was entitled "Displaced Spaces - Housing Strategies and Insurgency in São Paulo: Processes of urban restructuring and how "The Right to the City" is put into action in São Paulo, Brazil." The exhibition was on display from 04/27-05/23/2016 at the Friedrich Ebert Foundation in Berlin.

3.4.1 Quantitative analysis

The quantitative data analysis was conducted using the 350 surveys. As explained earlier, this total amount is excluded from quantitative figures from the Cortiço, where no questionnaires could be realized due to safety issues, and the Armenian church housing, due to the low number of returned questionnaires. I manually inputted the survey responses into "Excel 2017" and imported them into the statistical software program "IBM SPSS Statistics 21" for the data analysis. For the purpose of this research, I use univariate descriptive statistics [Punch, 2014]. For example, I generated frequencies using single and multiple response questions (e.g. amount of people living in a household, workplaces and places of residency, experiences of evictions, homelessness). Ordinal scales were analyzed to determine priorities and characteristics in terms of housing preferences and locales, for example, and the distribution of income and debts. Because of the exploratory nature of the quantitative data, I only calculated standard descriptive measures (e.g., frequencies, mean values, standard deprivations) for questions that which proved relevant to the core research questions I arrived at. To clarify, because one of the main research questions concerns how the urban poor cope with displacements, questions concerning participant strategies for handling displacement/displacement pressures were analyzed.

Notably, the question: "What would you do if faced with displacement (e.g. rent increases, urbanization and upgrade programs, or any other reason forcing you to leave your home)?" permitted multiple forms of response. This question was asked in every survey (and across forms of data collection), I could calculate the percentage of how many dwellers performed what kind of strategy in what housing form and eventually compare those answers in between the two cities. Additionally, information about rental costs, income, and housing trajectories, including the number of evictions experienced, episodes of homelessness, and reasons why dwellers left former locations and housing, provided important material for comparison across the different housing sub-markets (intra-urban as well as inter-urban)., However, and as discussed earlier, some of the questions did not produce clear data mainly because the questions or answers were not properly formulated. These questions were eliminated of the analysis. Further, although I do not consider the survey data to be representative, it serves as information to strengthen the qualitative.

3.4.2 Qualitative analysis

Deciding on an approach to analyzing the qualitative data was not simple given the huge cosmos of different systems for coding that exist. Informed by the context of the research and my personal experiences, I drew up a short list of possibilities. The list included Mayring's [2010] structuring approach, which allows an open and systematic way of identifying core ideas and setting them into relation with an overall context. I also considered the process of open and axial coding, as suggested

by Strauss and Corbin [1991]. Although the latter approach, stemming from Grounded Theory, includes positivistic elements, it provides a systematic way to deal with large amounts of qualitative data. In addition, as the overall research design aligns with ethnographic methods, I included suggestions from Emerson, Fretz and Shaw [2011] on analyzing field notes as well as Hammersley and Atkinson's [2009] approach to using detailed explanation to analyze ethnographic data. After much consideration, I chose to mainly Hammersley and Atkinson's thick description techniques and infused them, where necessary, with ideas from Emerson, Fretz and Shaw [2011].

More specifically, I first and foremost followed their instructions to maintain "a constant interplay between data and ideas throughout the research process" [Hammersley and Atkinson, 2009: 159]. This iterative approach is also a cornerstone of Grounded Theoretical approaches and something I consider particularly important because of the research emphasis on systematically and qualitatively comparing two cities with diverse cases requires a constant reflection on the connection between the data and the ideas that can best frame them. In the initial stages of analyses, then, I began generating concepts in relation to my specific research and the larger field of scholarship on similar topics. As Hammersley and Atkinson [2009: 163] put it:

> *"What is important is that [the existing ideas of the ethnographer and those that he or she can get access to in the literature] do not the form of prejudgments, forcing interpretation of the data into their mold, but are instead used as resources to make sense of the data."*

In my case, I drew on pertinent concepts, such as 'displacement pressure,' 'forms of housing sub-markets,' or 'actions taken when displacement pressure occurs,' with the aim "to compare and relate what happens at various places and times in order to identify stable features (of people, groups, organizations, etc.) that transcend immediate contexts." [Hammersley and Atkinson, 2009: 163].

In the next step, I synthesized several distinct theories and applied them to my data "to provide focus for the analysis and for the further fieldwork" [Hammersley and Atkinson, 2009: 165, see also Denzin, 2009] This required linking theories about urban transformations, displacements, and social inequalities, among other, to my case accounts. In an effort to further develop typologies out of the categories while being cautious of preexisting categorizations, I looked closely into the strategies and actions taken by the urban poor. It proved especially difficult to compare the various actions of the urban poor within my most-dissimilar case study design. Yet, such difficulties are precisely what can lead to new insights, typologies, and theory building. Referring to pioneering ideas from Lazarsfeld and Barton [1951], Hammersley and Atkinson [2009: 172] posit that "an initial set of categories differentiating a particular range of phenomena can be developed into a systematic typology […], by specifying the dimensions underlying the discriminations it makes. Taking this analytical step allowed

me to analyze the data systematically by simultaneously framing strategies sociologically as forms of capital transactions in line with Tilly's [1999] theory of durable inequalities. As part of the iterative process, the concepts and typologies that evolved out of this process were frequently checked and checked again with the results from the quantitative data and against/with the existing theories and concepts selected. To further outline the steps and procedures described thus far, Table 7 describes the detailed process of the overall research strategy.

	Mile-stone	Step	Action		Outcomes
1	Orientation	Identifying possible research sites and understanding local displacement processes	Literature review, reaching out to local organizations and agents, exploratory information gathering	Continuously writing of and reflection on ethnographic field notes	Collaboration with local partners in the cities, acquiring central knowledge about local forms of urban transformations, and related concepts
2	1. Field phase São Paulo	Acclimating to the cultural setting and research partners	Participatory observation, site visits and exchange with the 'residents		Initiating collaboration with local partners, developing mutual trust, constant reflection on my own stigma and potential prejudices, networking to obtain access to information beyond initial entrance into social networks and sites
		Conducting participatory research	Piloting semi-structured interviews and observations in a participatory manner		Collection of qualitative data and further developing trust relationships with research partners by intensifying the collaboration and increased social interaction
		First reflection on preliminary findings	Discussion about experiences, perceptions and impressions within the research process with some of the research partners		Identifying strengths and weaknesses of the 1st Field phase to improve the 2nd Field phase
3	Completing data collection	Data entry	Transcriptions		Structured and manageable data
4	Data analysis	Preliminary data analysis with a focus on intra-urban comparison	Qualitative analysis: first level coding plus planning and conducting the photo-exhibition "displaced spaces"		Identifying preliminary concepts, looking for prominent information, questioning assumptions about correlation and causation. Discussing preliminary concepts and conclusions with a broader audience.
5	2. Field Phase São Paulo	Implementation of quantitative research methods	Identification of survey distributors and distribution of the survey at the research sites		Collection of quantitative data, reinforcing and generating additional relationships built on trust with research partners through the participatory process of mutual respect and cooperation
		Supplementing qualitative data	Additional site visits, interviews, follow up interviews, and participatory observation		Further elaboration on content from first interviews to enrich understandings of displacement processes and strategies applied, clarification of ambiguities and housing trajectories
6	Completing data collection and data analysis SP	Data entry and data analysis	Transcriptions, Data entry into SPSS, Qualitative analysis second level coding, quantitative analysis		Structured and manageable data, Identifying items and indicators in the collected data
7	Begin writing	Disposition and Methodology	Review of several ethnographies and initiation		Ongoing process until the end of dissertation

			of continuous writing process		
8	1. and 2.Field Phase Istanbul	Same process as São Paulo (except for the intermediate exhibition)			
9	Completing data collection and data analysis	Data entry and data analysis	Transcriptions, Data entry into Excel and SPSS, Qualitative analysis second level coding, quantitative analysis	Structured and manageable data, identifying concepts and indicators in the data collected	
10	Comparison and Abstracting	Data Analysis towards overarching questions with a focus on inter-urban comparison	Coding qualitative data	Developing first- and second-order concepts for creating typologies of the strategies and housing forms	
			Descriptive analysis of quantitative data	Calculations of statistical information and additional information about housing trajectories and strategies	
11	Final literature review	Discussion and final writing	Assessment of the findings, comparing findings with literature	Identifying and discussing the findings and their relevance	
12	Completing	Finalizing	Revision of thesis, final editing	Completed dissertation	

Table 7: Overview of the entire research process, by author.

3.5 Concluding remarks

The research strategy of this dissertation was inspired by comparative urbanism. This field contains a lively and controversial discussion about the ways urban research und theory should be implemented, developed, and revised. These discussions question many of the implicit and explicit conventions of urban research. In dialogue with this scholarship and that of participatory research, this research cautiously relies on various qualitative research procedures to provide the evidence that I use to answer the core research questions. To be sure, extensions of more unconventional qualitative approaches include the risk of losing scientific rigor, of over-extension, and non-representativeness. Nevertheless, they also enrich research on distinct levels. The comparative and participatory approach taken in this research permits the airing of a variety of voices, includes a diversity of research participants, and access to a complex range of perspectives. Now, having considered ***how*** the research was conducted, I turn to thicker descriptions of ***where*** the research was conducted.

4. Empirical Cases: Housing forms in São Paulo and Istanbul

Within a qualitative research framework, answering the overarching question of "***how*** the urban poor deal with the risk of displacement" first requires address the question of ***where*** the urban poor are dealing with displacement pressure. When comparing the different housing submarkets within two dissimilar cities, the local conditions and circumstances of durable housing inequalities are crucial for understanding how the urban poor navigate them. That is, they help to explain the trajectories and practices of the urban poor within the complex and unequal systems described in chapter 2. Furthermore, a thick description of the cases introduces the ethnographic approach taken in the overall research process and lays an important foundation for the quality of the findings.

In what follows, I aim to draw a picture of the diverse cases of housing forms and housing submarkets as well as their contextual circumstances within the two cities. In the first step, I elaborate on the cases selected within São Paulo. Then, in a second step, I introduce my cases from Istanbul. In both steps, I avoid repeating standardized explanations about social, economic and demographic factors of each city or neighborhood visited, which are easily found in other, statistical accounts (e.g., the database of the World Bank, United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) or national statistic agencies). Instead, I emphasize merging the experiences residents told me about (in interviews) with my own encounters in the field (in field notes) and will pair these sets of data with descriptive data from the survey.

4.1 The cases in São Paulo

In the process of research in São Paulo, I identified three distinct segments of housing submarkets for the urban poor[12]. Next, I linked them to neighborhoods of particular value for this inquiry; namely neighborhoods undergoing urban transformations on a larger scale, such as gentrification, slum upgrades, and city beautification programs. The housing forms I chose therefore reflect the three different housing submarkets in the midst of processes of urban transformation: 1. Favelas (self-built communities); 2. Occupied buildings; and 3. Cortiços ("beehives" in English and a colloquialism for shared residences). After presenting an overview of the research sites (see Table 8 below) in terms of housing form, neighborhood, and urban location, I describe each housing form, its particular set of dwellers, and the varieties of displacement pressures.

[12] That is not to say that this is the total picture of distinct housing submarkets, but these are the forms most obvious in my empirical data.

Housing form	**Neighborhood**	**Urban Category**
Cortiço	Centro (Anhangabau)	Downtown
Occupation by movement	Centro (Anhangabau)	Downtown
Occupation by non-movement	Faria Lima	Sub-Center
Favela (Paraisópolis)	Morumbi	Sub-Center
Favela (Vila Nova Jaguaré)	Jaguaré	Sub-Center

Table 8: Overview of the research sites in São Paulo, by author.

4.1.1 Cortiços and Occupations in "Centro" (Anhangabau)

To introduce you to the neighborhood, here is an account of my introduction to the neighborhood:

> *"I just arrived in São Paulo, took a cab to my rented Airbnb [apartment] in downtown and am trying to get organized in my rented apartment in Anhangabau. […] I am hearing fireworks and people screaming and yelling on the streets. Already upon my first arrival in the neighborhood, I wondered about all of the helicopters flying above my head but, considering that São Paulo is one of the cities with the greatest number of helicopters worldwide, I didn't pay that much attention to it. But, now, as the noise from the street becomes louder, I become curious enough to leave the house to find the source(s) of the noise. While on the street, a pedestrian approaches me and tells me that I should be careful in the neighborhood. "Today is not a good day for you," she says. A little bit confused, I follow the police cars rushing through the crowded streets of the center. After one block in the direction of the Theatro Municipal, I find the center of the tumult: I see perhaps 20 or 30 people of all ages and genders running down the streets as police forces, armed with guns and rubber bullets, chase them. The runners set fire to some barricades and yelled words I didn't understand at the police. Uninvolved pedestrians, bystanders like myself, were trying to escape the area while the helicopters circled overhead. The group of people being chased by the police began splitting up into smaller groups of three or four people and dispersing into the alleys and streets of the area and the police did the same. What followed looked like a game of hide-and-seek between the protesters and the police forces for the next few hours, paired with fireworks, gun shots and screams and yelling."* [excerpt fieldnote: 4a, São Paulo, September 16, 2004]

This field note excerpt captures my vantage of the eviction of the Hotel Central, located right next to Theatro Municipal, Galeria do Rock and close to Praca da Republica in Anhangabau. The building's more recent history of use, according to information I received interviewing members of the Gaspar Garcia Human Rights Center, includes being abandoned, then occupied, then evicted, and subsequently (during the time of the research) re-occupied for half a year. The Center's attempts to mediate between city officials, the owner, and the dwellers of the building were unsuccessful, ultimately ending in the violent eviction of more than 315 families on my first day in the city. Local newspapers, such as the *Folha De S.Paulo* (see Figure 6), covered the confrontations between inhabitants and police forces. Reports noted vast numbers of broken shop windows, several injuries, and the burned down barricades. The Center employee who was most involved in the negotiations and knew most of the dwellers was also present on the day of eviction. She later explained to me that the majority of the evicted were confronting homelessness, particularly single mothers and their children since they were the majority of dwellers in that occupation.

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DIRETOR DE REDAÇÃO: OTAVIO FRIAS FILHO ANO 94 ★ QUARTA-FEIRA, 17 DE SETEMBRO DE 2014 ★ Nº 31.213 EDIÇÃO SP/DF ★ CONCLUÍDA À 0H47 ★ R$ 3,00

5h PM cerca prédio na av. São João para iniciar reintegração | 6h Sem-teto atiram objetos contra a PM, que dispara bombas de gás e balas de borracha | 9h Polícia usa blindado para liberar entrada do local | 10h Vândalos incendeiam ônibus perto do Theatro Municipal | 13h Comércio reabre | 16h Novos confrontos perto do Municipal | 21h Clima volta a ficar calmo

Ônibus incendiado por manifestantes em frente ao Theatro Municipal, em SP

Dilma e Marina oscilam, diz Ibope; Aécio vai de 15% a 19%

A mais recente pesquisa Ibope mostrou oscilações negativas de Dilma Rousseff (PT) e Marina Silva (PSB) e crescimento de Aécio Neves (PSDB) na disputa pela Presidência. Dilma foi de 39% para 36%, enquanto Marina, de 31% para 30%. Aécio passou de 15% para 19%.

Com margem de erro de dois pontos, o levantamento mostra um empate técnico entre Dilma e Marina no segundo turno: 43% para a ex-senadora ante 40% para a petista. Contra Aécio, Dilma vence por 44% a 37%. O tucano perde de Marina: 48% a 30%. Eleições 2014 A5

ESPORTE Jogos do Rio terão ingressos mais baratos que Copa e Londres-12 D1

COMIDA Canais da TV aberta aderem aos 'reality shows' de gastronomia F1

Despejo de sem-teto em SP termina em confrontos e saques

Conflito entre policiais e invasores leva a fechamento de lojas e bloqueios de vias; PM vê ação de 'black blocs'

Justiça Eleitoral manda retirar

Ex-ministra rebate PT ao

A reintegração de posse O prédio estava ocupado Os invasores recuaram, di-

*Figure 5: the front page of the newspaper "*Folha De S.Paulo*" the day after eviction. [Fraisaat , 2014: A1]*

As this employee and many single mothers explained to me in interviews, being a single mother in São Paulo raises specific, cross-cutting issues: finding affordable housing that can accommodate the family, how to find employment that guarantees sufficient income for the family, care for the children while the mother is working, preventing exploitation or harassment, and so on. Additionally, many single mothers expressed the absence of support from extended family. In fact, several mothers told me similar stories of being thrown out of their parent's homes as soon as their pregnancy was discovered. Parents commonly told these women that if the man can make a child, then he has to take responsibility for the new family. Eventually, however, Father's seeking their own future left these women and their children. Although Brazil has created some policies to support poor families, such as

the Bolsa Familia program,[13] state subsidies are not enough for survival, especially when children are involved.

One of the single mothers I interviewed was evicted from an occupied building about a year before the interview (ca. 2013). Shiela, who was living in a shelter at the time of our interview, described the effects of Bolsa Familia:

> *"I have Bolsa Familia. Which to me, particularly, helps me a lot and disturbs me at the same time. It is the only income I have, but it is by far just not enough. For you to pay for a shack in a favela, you have to have money, you have to have work. For you to leave this shelter here, you have to have an income, but Bolsa Famila is not an income that I can look at and say: I'm moving forward. Each month I receive 79 Reais in total. I cannot do anything. If we need new clothes, I have to beg people to give me a donation. If we need slippers, I need to ask on the street for strangers to pay for them. So, I can never go into a store and say „I will buy these pants, I will buy these shoes." I do not even know when I last bought something. The situation ends up taking you backwards, right, you will feel weaker, you feel less hope for the battle."* [Shiela, São Paulo, 1: 9]

Sheila's account is only one illustrative example of the pressures facing the urban poor in São Paulo. Similarly, the Hotel Central case is only one of many examples of occupations and subsequent evictions within the historical central district of São Paulo. Together, these accounts highlight some of the complex processes and systemic inequalities underpinning contestations over space and housing within the Anhangabau neighborhood.

The contrasting architecture in the Centro also visually echoes a history of contestation over property use values and unequally distributed resources. One finds colonial architecture next to run-down, modern half-rises and adjacent to upscale, post-modern high rises. Street vendors share the public space (or quasi-public spaces) with businessmen, tourists, homeless, and local renters. The majority of streets are packed, yet several so called "no-go" areas are palpable. These no-go areas include Cracolândia ("crackland" in English), an area close to Sè where drug trafficking is evident and that has spurred government and business-led cleansing programs in 2012 [Rolnik, 2012] and again in 2017 [Samora, 2017]. There are no big malls in Anhangabau, but there are countless little shops selling everything from everyday products to high-end electronics.

[13] Bolsa Familia is part of the Fome Zero network of federal assistance programs. It provides financial aid to poor Brazilian families. The program attempts to reduce short-term poverty by direct cash transfers and to fight long-term poverty by increasing human capital among the poor through conditional cash transfers.

Despite the neighborhood's mixture of vitality and stark contrasts, for many decades urban planners saw the center as a space of urban decay, as a space marked by lost investments and economic stagnation [Biderman, Hermann, Cotelo. 2000]. By contrast, the poor residents viewed the downtown center as a space of opportunity for marginalized populations. As many of my interviewees reported, the downtown cultivated spaces for informal labor, such as prostitution, cardboard hunting, or drug trafficking, and that this work kept the rents low by creating a narrative of the neighborhood as risky and unattractive for the wealthier classes. At the same time, this intersection of informal labor combined with low rents provided the poor with proximity to multiple sites of formal employment at the countless little shops and street vendors drawn to the huge heterogeneity of possible costumers. Because of these interwoven factors, the historic center was once the preferred site of the urban poor for their households. According to an interviewee from the Gaspar Garcia Human Rights Center, the neighborhood provided the social and economic environment for the creation of many cortiços (low quality tenements) and occupations.

However, recent years have seen increasing evictions in these housing submarkets. As, Juliane, one of the center's employee stated in an interview:

> *"Forced evictions occur more frequently. In many cases empty buildings that are occupied are returned to the owner by force and remain unused. The St. John had already been occupied, the Prestes Maia was already occupied several times […] almost all of them are repeatedly getting occupied and forcibly evicted".* [Juliana, São Paulo, 1: 5]

Clearly, the neighborhood and its housing sub markers meet my selection criteria of cases 'evidently affected by urban transformations which might cause displacements' as well as 'showing high levels of social inequality and housing shortages.' Within the neighborhood, Thus, I chose the housing forms of the occupation of the former Hotel Lord by the housing movement Frente de Luta por Moradi[14] [FLM] and a long-existing, privately owned cortiço as two of my research cases.

4.1.1.1 The occupation "Hotel Lord"

FLM is one of the most visible housing movements in São Paulo. According to my interviews with the movement's local and regional coordinators, the first occupation of Hotel Lord by FLM took place in 2012 as part of a larger campaign wherein the FLM occupied eleven buildings in Centro at the same time. Few of these occupations succeeded in their struggle to maintain occupation, but the Hotel Lord occupation remains [Bosmans and De Beukelaer, 2016].

[14] FLM is one of the many diverse housing movements of the city of São Paulo, whose objective is the urban reform towards equal housing rights for the urban poor and a more equitable urban development in general. Headquartered in the city of São Paulo, it is one of the main fronts of struggle for housing in the city.

The FLM coordinators and Hotel Lord occupants told me that a coffee baron initiated the construction of the original building in the 19th century to accommodate his family. As the story goes, the coffee baron died, and the property was then passed from hand to hand before becoming a hotel a few decades ago. Before its occupation in 2012, the building was uninhabited for eight years – it only served as a storage deposit for some of the owner's artwork. Some parts of the building were maintained but as it was largely abandoned or vacant, many parts of the building were destroyed over the years (e.g., the roof leaked from unrepaired fire damage). Now the Hotel Lord houses 80 FLM families.

The building is historic, located right next to Theatro Central and the Rock Music Hall. The facade could use some renovation, but the stucco applications are still intact. The lobby, with its freshly painted white walls, two sofas in the hall, and former reception desk with fresh flowers, almost looks luxurious. On the first level, the former dining room is now a large community room that appears lovingly decorated. The dwellers have placed posters and pictures on the walls. The former hotel rooms on the floors above are now the apartments of the dwellers. Utilities were installed through the joint efforts of the dwellers and the utility bills are shared by floor. Each floor has two toilets, two showers, and one kitchen. The rooms are all of different sizes and those inhabiting each room determine the use of their space. As one would find in any apartment building, many rooms appear well-organized and cared for (e.g. nicely furnished, clean, painted walls) and others are less so. Little by little, the dwellers accumulate material assets, such as TVs, closets, and beds.

Figure 6: The community room within the occupation, photo by O. Hildebrandt, 2015.

The Hotel Central is, according to the detailed information I received from in several interviews with dwellers and the building's coordinator, still privately owned by a divorced couple. The husband lives abroad and therefore takes little care of his property but frequently imposes eviction orders to get the poor out of his building. His ex-wife and their daughter are interested in negotiating with the dwellers. Notably, city officials do not interfere within the negotiations because the building is privately owned. As a result, the dwellers primary struggles over the past two years have been in the courts,

where they fight to avoid the execution of eviction orders by arguing that they take care of the building and are willing to pay some rent to the owners. For the dwellers, the most desirable outcome would be the building's formalization as public housing – although this would also mean the displacement/relocation of half of the current occupants to other public housing options in the periphery in order to meet official housing density requirements. Taken together and despite their efforts, the residents continue to experience an ongoing threat of displacement. The account of Damiana [São Paulo, 1: 12], one of the dwellers in that squats , captures this precariousness:

> *"Then, on the day that I entered this building here, despite of the dirt that every room was covered in, you saw that it was a luxury construction, each floor that I went, I was wondering: "are we going to stay here? Will it be tomorrow that we are getting kicked out?" So, the days are passing, we continue to stay put here, but from the beginning, up to today, I go to sleep thinking: "will it be tomorrow that the police will surround our building and take the people out of here, that a bulk of police forces will take us away from here, without having a place where I could go with my son?"*

4.1.1.2 Cortiço

Several scholars recognize cortiços as a housing form for the urban poor [e.g., Aluisio Azevedo, 1890; Caldeira, 1996; Da Silva, 2000]. They are comparable to "Arbeiterkasernen" (workers tenements), a common form of housing in European cities during industrialization. Estimates from the most recent census [Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, 2010] put around 30,000 people living in cortiços in São Paulo According to information from the Gaspar Garcia Center as well as scholars in the field (e.g, Prof. Eduardo Marques or Renata Bichir), cortiços are usually privately-owned by families who, in many instances, own two or three cortiços. The buildings, however, were not architecturally designed as homes or for human habitation. Instead, they were intended for storage and shops. In general, cortiços have a basement designed to absorb moisture from the ground soil, a ground level, and a top level with huge open spaces. They have few windows and are very humid, which contributes to poor hygienic conditions. Next to the main building, additional smaller buildings are often constructed to create an inner court within the encircling walls of the property. Residents share utilities, such as bathrooms and kitchens, but they also often share them with fungus and rodents as well due to the humidity. Cortiço owners rarely live in the cortiços, preferring to rely on someone living there to ensure the rents are paid. These "someones" are called capatei, a term used during slavery to describe the slave guards.

The cortiço I studied is also located in Santa Cecilia, just a few blocks away from the occupied Hotel Lord, on a backstreet of Rue das Palmeras. Aside from a small shop at the ground level, the main building has three levels. The basement has been divided into small single rooms. The upper ground-

level includes the kitchen, two showers, and one toilet in the back. And the upper level is open, reachable by a stairway in the front and another in the back. The approximately 70 inhabitants of the dwelling share the utilities. Both stairways appear ready to fall apart and the hallway floor on the upper ground level is unstable – covered with holes and sagging. The overall condition of the building is bad. The building's features of musty odors in the hallways and rooms where water drips from leaky pipes suggest decay. Additionally, as I also experienced during my fieldwork there, the ceilings in the ground level are damaged to the point of falling down in pieces. Beyond these attributes of the building, the spaces within the cortiço are overcrowded, noisy, and prone to flooding during heavy rain. Corresponding to these housing conditions are severe health issues. Just a few years ago, according to interview information, the cortiço experienced a Tuberculosis outbreak, which caused the death of one dweller and the closure of parts of the basement by the department of public health. In addition to this episode, other diseases circulate frequently, such as diarrhea and, most dramatically, leprosy.

The specific legal system of this research site makes the threat of displacement through eviction difficult to pinpoint. According to a former capatei of a cortiço located in another neighborhood, cortiços are generally not maintained in order to increase profits. However, the landlords pay property taxes in order to avoid any public authority interventions, which could lead to forced upgrades or expropriations. The owner of the cortiço I studied had stopped taking care of the building, which, in turn, led the dwellers to stop paying rent. While I was at this field site, the landlord was merely tolerating the dwellers while the dwellers were treating their accommodation as their own property – buying and selling their 'units'. As there is no housing movement or any other form of organization directing collective action, dwellers sell their rooms for around 800 Reais when they decide to move out. As a consequence, the set of occupants changes frequently.

Figure 7: The one-bed room accomodation of Cida, a young mother and her child within the cortiço, bought for 800 Reais, photo by O. Hildebrandt, 2015.

During my research, two different sets of dwellers, the long-term and short-term, constituted the nearly 70 people living in the cortiço. Most of the long-term residents have lived in the building for more than 20 years and are attached to the place to different degrees. Various interviewees expressed

the latter sentiment: “we belong here” [Satyro, São Paulo, 1: 23], “it is worth it to struggle for” [Cida, São Paulo, 1: 19], and “I have been living here for so many years, I don’t want to leave” [Ana, São Paulo, 1: 2]. The short-term residents, in contrast, arrived more recently in the cortiço and expressed knowing from the beginning that it’s just a matter of time until they are evicted. Although all of the dwellers are aware of the landlord’s intention to sell the property and know they would poorly fit again in the increasingly expensive and already full local housing market in the neighborhood, the short-term residents feel the pressure of their limited time frame more acutely. In fact, as they see the cortiço as a unique chance for them to save some money, they avoid investing in the community and creating attachments to the.

4.1.1.3 An occupation by a non-movement at Faria Lima and Largo de Batata

The neighborhood of Faria Lima is also an important site for examining the impacts of urban transformations in the city of São Paulo. Notably, before a major urban renewal program branded the neighborhood Faria Lima after its major thoroughfare, it was known as Largo da Batata. According to my interview with historian Herta Franco [São Paulo, 1] and Caldeira’s [2015] accounts, the sub-center of Faria Lima has long been a strategic point of commerce and transport for São Paulo. Going back to the colonial period, the Batata square was a connection point to the other side of the river and point of entry between the city of São Paulo and its surroundings. Japanese migrants used to sell their potatoes at this square, hence the original name of Largo da Batata. During the last century the Batata square has maintained its function as a point for commerce, informal labor, and transport, while also creating a large demand for housing by the poor. This scenario ultimately led to the foundation of various cortiços and occupations. The main neighborhood thoroughfare, Avenida Faria Lima, experienced the first wave of urban renewal program in the 1960s. Then, about a decade ago, following political desires to decentralize São Paulo according to the Master Plan SP, the Batata square urban renewal program got underway [Waisman, Feriancic and Frascino 2014]. According to my interviews with former and current residents, this project redid the entire square over a few years by, among other things, evicting multiple occupations as well as the demolishing abandoned buildings to make space for state-of-the-art architecture, shopping malls, and condominiums.

Nowadays, some people call the Avenida Faria Lima the “Brazilian Wall Street” because several financial institutions have located their regional and national headquarters in the buildings lining its wide avenue (e.g., UBS, Morgan Stanley, and Goldman Sachs, to name a few). The city did not stop with these changes to the built environment at the Batata square and its surroundings. In order to increase rental profits, renewal has also required altering the neighborhood’s reputation. My interviews with a former capatei of a local cortiço suggested there are very few options left for the poor to stay put in this neighborhood due to both direct and exclusionary displacement as well as

cultural or lifestyle displacement. Additionally, during my frequent visits to the neighborhood, several residents told me that the local housing sub market tremendously decreased its supply of affordable housing because of the dual dynamics of evictions and 200% rent increases in some of the occupations and cortiços. For instance, Ronaldo, a former resident of a cortiço at Batata square, told me he was paying 1000 Reais for a bed in a cortiço. In the Batata square, a group of middle-class, urban activists ["A Batata Precisa De Voce"] meet every Friday to culturally occupy the square while businessmen rush home during rush hour and the urban poor sneak into their cortiços or illegally try to sell some goods on the square. Within this neighborhood, I identified a distinct form of occupation – one not organized by a housing movement (e.g., FLM, Movimento dos Trabalhadores Sem Teto (MSTS), etc.) but organized by single individuals without any movement or organizational affiliation – and selected it as a site for this research. , This is the last remaining occupation in the neighborhood.

The Batata square occupation

While the Batata square dwelling differs in several ways from FLM occupations, three ways stand out: the former function of the building, the history of its occupation, and the structure of internal organization. The Batata building was never a hotel – a seemingly preferred building-type for occupations given the composition of rooms. Instead, it was a mixed-use (housing and commercial) building, with the lower parts of the building constructed for offices and commerce. This former function helps to explain the diverse and extensive enhancements made to the structure after occupation: some units were originally designed as apartments and kept as such, while other rooms, like the big offices, were repurposed by the dwellers to create units within the large space. As the dwellers used any possible materials they could organize to build walls or separation, the divisions are constructed out of materials, including brick stones, paper, or metal. Some occupants also constructed or brought in

Figure 8: The occupation by a non-movement illustrating the mixed-use architecture, photo by author, 2016.

doors, while others just use curtains as a door. Altogether, the dwelling represents an impressive amalgam of different styles of accommodation. In general, the building does not appear to be a single place from one unit to another or from one level to another. As described in the other housing forms, different dwellers invest differently in the space they inhabit.

According to the current coordinator of the building, Arlete, the building stood empty and abandoned for ten years with only the protection of a private security company before occupation. According to the dwellers, the building was abandoned after the owner died. In 2010, Arlete used force to enter the building with a friend and the two of them began the informal, unorganized occupation. Early on, however, the friend realized that occupations can serve as an "economic machine" [Patricia, São Paulo, 2: 16] to create income. As a result, he began exploiting the other dwellers by charging them high rents – around 1000 Reais for a single room. Although Arlete (the coordinator) left because of these actions, she returned to the occupation a year later, re-occupied it using force and initiated a loosely organized housing community. Eventually someone bribed a city official to obtain property ownership papers. Over the time of my research, the inhabitants were paying Arlete some contribution according to their economic resources (generally not more than 150 Reais), instead of a regular rent [Jaira and Paulo, São Paulo, 1: 6]. However, they were also facing eviction orders from the nominal "owner" who wants to sell the building.

Turning to the structure of internal organization, the Batata occupation neither has the more or less democratic style of the FLM housing movement nor does it have the tyrannical-absentee style of the capatei and landlords of the cortiços. Instead, Arlete serves as a leadership figure and central decision-maker. She organizes the building, decides on the inhabitants, and organizes struggles against displacement. No explicit set of rules exists within the building (unlike with FLM) and Arlete and her relatives are primarily responsible for carrying out core tasks. Arlete's ability to keep the occupation running, I argue, stems mostly from her power to approve or reject possible new tenants. This is not simply about her power over these decisions but also how she makes them. In our conversations, she told me that she uses an interview process to determine if a person is eligible to move in. According to Arlete, this process relies on a combination of intuition and key criteria, such as single mothers, urgency, and no substance use.

Despite her efforts to provide a relatively safe environment through her selection criteria process and other techniques,[15] problems inevitably arose. Arlete communicated several experiences of violence or threats directed at her by inhabitants of the building as well as among the inhabitants, some even life threatening. In one instance while I was visiting Arlete and her family in the building, a

[15] For instance, I had to hand over my ID before entering the building for the first time.

violent conflict broke out between them and a resident who was being removed from the building for physical harassment towards other dwellers. The dweller attempted to physically attack Arlete's family, so they hid in their private rooms. In a follow-up visit, the security issue had become worse. Arlete and her family moved into a part of the building that could be protected by a thick armor-plated door with a security camera installed in front of the door to monitor visitors. This example illustrates how benevolent leadership and loose organization may be seen as easy targets.

Occupations like Arlete's in Batata Square are not unprecedented (i.e., former squats in New York City's Lower East Side, in Amsterdam, and Berlin), but they represent a housing form that is distinct compared to the occupations organized by established housing movements and cortiço bosses. The Batata occupation creates housing opportunities for segments of the urban poor who face higher barriers to accessing housing movement occupations and segments particularly vulnerable to the poor housing conditions offered at many cortiços (as I will discuss in the next chapter). Nevertheless, this housing form is more precarious in its own ways. Notable among them are the lack of democratic decision-making, less explicit rules of tenure, and decreased personal security or potential exposure to violence.

4.1.2 The favelas of Paraisópolis and Vila Nova Jaguaré

Favelas may be the largest housing form and expressions of housing submarkets in São Paulo. When I refer to Favelas, I'm generally referring to the occupation of vacant land and the erection of wooden shanties or other structures for creating a settlement. However, the distinction between 'traditional' and 'new' favelas in terms of their history or duration is an important criterion for distinguishing among the Favelas of the city. Favelas tend to emerge on the city's periphery as the population and demand for housing increase. Therefore, of the traditional favelas founded on outskirts of the city over the 1960s and 70s, those that remain are primarily located close to the city's sub-centers and sub-periphery, and a single traditional favela remains directly in the central region.

In contrast to newly constructed favelas, the majority of traditional favelas have undergone phases, stages, or processes of becoming established settlements. Examples include the creation of infrastructure, the ongoing, auto-constructed upgrades of the dwellings, and, of course, various impacts from major urbanization projects. With the exception of the favela Moinho, the traditional favelas of São Miguel Paulista, Monte Azul, Paraisópolis, and Vila Nova Jaguaré are not only affected by urban upgrade programs in their neighborhoods, but also by urbanization programs within their specific settlement. The state-led interventions, such as "Minha Casa Minha Vida," intend to offer opportunities for upward social mobility to the urban poor, despite the good intentions, though, such policies significantly affect supply and demand in the local housing sub-market in ways that can lead

to negative impacts on the urban poor in the long run. Once the supply of the stock of housing for the poor is transformed into more developed housing stock it's exchange value may surpass its use value for the poorest and the poor coming to the city or make the housing and nearby housing more appealing to the nonpoor – creating greater inequality among the poor and between them and the nonpoor as the barriers to access increase. Ultimately, the demand for both kinds of housing submarkets forms tends to increase in those areas affected by such development initiatives because of the dynamics they encourage, such as gentrification [Cummings, 2015] and population growth [Herling and Franca, 2009]. In light of these factors, I chose to study two traditional favelas in sub-centers of the city that reflect different phases of such developments: the favela Paraisópolis and the favela of Vila Nova Jaguaré.

4.1.2.1 Favela Paraisópolis

The following account from my fieldnotes offers an introduction to favela Paraisópolis.

> *"It is evening, and I am exhausted from conducting several interviews today. For leisure, I switch on the TV and browse through the different channels. I stick with Globo, a national TV cooperation well known for its cheesy productions of telenovelas. I am organizing my notes from the day when something on TV suddenly catches my attention: I see bright, lively, colorful images from the favela Paraisópolis. I was just there the other day to collect quantitative data and still have the day's impressions in my mind – of open sewers, flooded alleys, tiny and overcrowded wooden shanties or shacks, and my interactions with [PCC]. What I see now on the TV is different: I see affluent people, bright wall colors on the auto-constructed buildings, big cars, organized and structured streets. Basically, a "sanitized" and romantic version of Paraisópolis. It takes me a moment to understand it's a commercial [advertisement] and what it's about. It is the announcement of a new telenovela called "I love Paraisópolis". The plot of the show appears less important to me than the impressive transformation of the space: how the dwelling of a favela becomes commodified through rebranding and becomes the scene for a cheesy love story so far away from the daily struggles of survival the dwellers experience there. Of course, I think: it makes sense for one of the biggest TV companies to choose such a setting considering the millions of people living in favelas."* [excerpt fieldnote: 135b, São Paulo, March 03, 2015]

The favela of Paraisópolis [Paradise City] is located right in the center of the Morumbi district. The contours of the district are shaped by its affluent population, its high-rise condominium towers, its huge private mansions with fences and security, its lively economic environment in terms of IT and finance sectors, and its overall up-scale consumption possibilities. The favela covers an area of 800,000 square meters and houses around 80,000 individuals in approximately 18,000 houses [Oyebanji, 2010: 30]. According to Isaac, one of the community organizers of the favela's community center, the favela's proximity to the wealthier population in the larger district has been the key source of livelihood for the majority of favelados of Paraisópolis. On the one hand, the rich environment around the settlement provides a possibility for formal as well as informal labor for many of the urban poor. The wealthy surrounding the favela, on the other hand, the favela provides a huge cheap workforce for services including house cleaning, driving, childcare, construction, and security.

Figure 9: The favela of Paraisópolis. In the front the auto-constructed dwellings, in the back the high-rises of the wealthier population of Morumbi, photo by O. Hildebrandt, 2015.

Patterns of socio-spatial segregation amidst the diversity of inhabitants are easily visible upon first entering the favela. When driving through the district into the sprawling settlement on small, curving streets, one rapidly transitions from seeing the homes of Morumbi's wealthy to suddenly being in the heart of one of the most precarious sections of the settlement. The contrasts within the favela are primarily attributable to urbanization efforts on the part of city authorities. History has shown these externally-driven efforts focus on favela areas that are identified as at risk from slopes, rivers, and so on, which require evacuation and therefore the creation of less-risky public housing. The emphasis on at-risk areas leads to scattered development and overlooks many other, even more precarious parts of the favela that could benefit from upgrade programs [Centro de Acção Social por Música Grotao, Paraisópoli, 2014]. Anna, a social worker from the "Serviço de Assistência Social vai atender famílias de Paraisópolis" (SASF) described and pointed out this scattered development to me during a site visit where we walked for several hours through different parts of the favela.

In addition to the spatial differences between public housing areas, at-risk areas, and areas where the housing lacks crucial affordances for healthy human habitation, are distinctions between the areas of commerce and their backstreets or noncommercial areas. The commercial areas within Paraisópolis are flourishing, even offering limited-luxury, consumption possibilities (e.g., a travel agency) for those within the favela who can afford them and therefore attracting certain set of dwellers. By contrast, the backstreets of the commercial areas and noncommercial area lack substantial resources and the people-in-the-streets that create informal forms of security. This commercial differentiation contributes to further differentiations within the housing sub market between the new public housing complexes and well-constructed brick shacks with proper pavement and official utilities (i.e., electricity, water, and sanitation) and the sections comprised of rough wooden shacks, illegal electricity if any, and without water but with frequently flooding open-sewage.

4.1.2.2 Favela Vila Nova Jaguaré

The favela of Vila Nova Jaguaré is located on a hilly terrain, close to Pinheiros. Although also founded in the 1970s, its urbanization experience is quite different from that of Paraisópolis. The occupation of this once vacant land was similarly driven by thousands of poor people seeking housing in close proximity to labor opportunities. In the case of Vila Nova Jaguaré, however, the labor opportunities took the form of surrounding industrial complexes. The most recent estimates place around 10,000 people living on an area of 166,000 square meters [Oyebanji, 2010: xix].

Since its inception, the majority Vila Nova Jaguaré has slowly been urbanized through freezing land policies[16], demolishing shacks in at-risk areas, and creating several distinct public housing complexes. As Rita, a resident who formerly lived in a shanty but now lives in one of the socialized housing complexes, roughly explained to me: these developments altered the physical shape of the settlement, the dynamics of inhabitant turnover, growth, and consequently the culture of living. As with other occupations, housing density has to follow official regulations when settlements are "formalized." This, means that not everyone can be relocated in situ after upgrades or evacuations of at-risk areas. Mauro Freire [São Paulo, 1: 4-5], the architect responsible for an upgrade

Figure 10: To the left the auto-constructed former shags, to the right new-build socialised housing complexes, Favela Vila Nova Jaguaré, photo by O. Hildebrandt, 2015.

[16] Meaning to prohibit any extension or increase of the given land.

project in the favela in 2003, estimated in an interview that one-third of the dwellers in a targeted urbanization area are evicted and displaced from the favela in order to decrease the housing density:

> *"Indeed, my office was hired to do the upgrading project because of my project experience. For me it seemed interesting and, shall we say, an opportunity to direct action in the area… an action like a town planning and architectural design, right. And then we developed the project in 2003 as an urbanization project, to bring infrastructure to the favela and remove the risk areas. […] There are areas, so to speak, where you cannot develop a playground, where you cannot make a permanent area for people, where you cannot make a public space to stay. And, you cannot in any favela upgrading project restore the same population in the same area on new conditions. You cannot. Why? Because today they live in shacks of 12 m2 stacked one on top of another, without space, without lighting, ventilation. […] If you remove, say 500 people here, you can perhaps bring back 300 people to an urbanized area. 200 people have to be displaced out of the area. So, in the end, we removed around a thousand people. That was around one-third, one-third of the project area's population removed outside of the favela."*

Unlike Paraisópolis, the urbanization of Vila Nova Jaguaré described by Freire included almost all parts of the favela. Almost.

In the areas where urbanization did not occur, the houses remain in poor conditions just like in Paraisópolis. During several of my site visits I saw wood shacks in some areas, all lacking minimum standards of housing quality. The people living in areas that were not upgraded routinely experience overcrowding, infectious disease outbreaks, and crime in their everyday lives. By the same token, as several interviewees noted, the prospect of receiving some compensation if evicted from the remaining at-risk areas attracts many urban poor to these areas and to the already overcrowded parts of Vila Nova Jaguaré.

Figure 11: View over Vila Nova Jaguaré. Clearly visible is the verticalization of the buildings and the high rises in the back, photo by author, 2016.

Also in contrast to Paraisópolis, Vila Nova Jaguaré is experiencing more severe alterations in the housing sub-markets within the favela.

As the architect Mauro Freire further articulated based on recent evidence: the urbanization efforts have been mixed. The upgrades combined with the 'land freezing' policy have provided decent housing with proper infrastructure and commerce in close proximity to sub-centers, including public transportation. But, they simultaneously reduce the number of available dwellings, which spurs verticalization of the existing buildings and the habitation of at-risk sites within the favela. They have also contributed to dramatic rent increases in other parts of the city, altering the consumption patterns of the wealthier classes to the point that the wealthy too want access to housing in the decent parts of the favela. As a result of all these intermingling forces, Freire and residents I interviewed identified an emerging rent gap – at least in the urbanized parts of the settlement. Accordingly, they said they are often encountering people on the street who are desperately looking for housing and asking if they are renting out any space.

4.1.2 The Cases from São Paulo: Conclusion

This discussion of the research cases highlights some of the urban processes at work in São Paulo, but it only gives a brief impression of the overarching dynamics. Nevertheless, the cases show that the housing market in São Paulo is highly competitive. Even the housing niches at the interstices of different housing forms and accommodations that barely meet standard definitions of "households" are sites of contestation for the urban poor. The distinct housing forms of squats , cortiços, and favelas offer distinct groups of dwellers access to housing. However, and as touched upon, that access also depends on the multi-dimensional nature of individual poverty wherein single mothers may have different access than single men. Additionally, each housing form provides certain advantages and disadvantages for the different urban poor populations in terms of the risk of eviction, security of tenure, costs of living, and so on. City and neighborhood effects can also impact each dwelling separately or in different ways. The question is whether findings about such a complex system of housing submarkets are generalizable to other urban contexts? Therefore, in the next step, I present a similar background to the neighborhoods and housing forms selected as research sites in Istanbul.

4.2 The cases in Istanbul

Over the course of my exploratory field research in Istanbul, I identified different precarious housing forms and linked them to their larger neighborhoods. Importantly, though, that the variety and forms of housing differ between the two cities. Whereas squats , cortiços, and favelas etc. are relatively easy to identify in São Paulo, the housing submarkets in Istanbul does not immediately reveal itself. In particular, in central districts with high population densities contain several distinguished housing

forms, but accessing them and exposing what differentiates them is more difficult.[17] That said, to it was possible to identify more and less similar housing forms, especially when looking at shantytown land occupations. Whereas the shantytowns in Brazil are called favelas, they are called gecekondus in Turkey. Although some version of gecekondus existed in the times of the Ottoman Empire, more recent occupations of vacant lands emerged around the same time as those in São Paulo, in similar locations at the former outskirts of the city of Istanbul, and for the same purposes of accommodating a massive influx of needed workers from rural areas [e.g., Karpat, 2009; Şenyapılı, 2004; Pérouse, 2004]. In addition to auto-constructed shanty housing on vacant land, the housing form of cortiços common in São Paulo is loosely mirrored by the form of "single room occupancy" in terms of their physical construction, exploitative patterns, and risks for displacement.

Occupations present the greatest differences between the urban poor housing forms in the two cities. As discussed earlier, the occupation of uninhabited or abandoned buildings by housing movements as well as individuals is a frequent pattern in São Paulo. In Istanbul, it is almost impossible to find occupations meeting a similar definition. As my interviews with a squatting collective in Istanbul revealed, although the last few years have witnessed a few attempts to establish squats, the majority of them took the form of occupations to create spaces for the arts rather than housing. And all of these attempts met with eviction in the end. Overall, unlike São Paulo, housing dynamics or regulations in Istanbul result in very few, well-hidden, and seemingly short-lived squats by refugees or other categories of the homeless. These differences in and across housing forms in the two cities are likely related to the spatial organizational structure of neighborhoods in Turkey. In Turkey, "mahalles" are the smallest organizational unit. Rooted in the Ottoman Empire, they can, more or less, be considered autonomous neighborhoods headed by a local "mayor" or Muhtar. Even if several mahallas are organized into a larger district, the mahallas can differ in terms of their composition (e.g., socio-economic and ethnic).

Against this backdrop, and in conjunction with the organizational unit of mahallas in Turkey as neighborhoods, I identified two "neighborhoods" and three housing forms. The first neighborhood is the mahalle Şehitmuhtar in Tarlabaşı. The two housing forms I examine in this area are apartments managed by the Armenian church and individually rented places and sometimes furnished flats, which I call "single room occupancy,". The second neighborhood is the mahalle of Serigöl in Gaziosmanpaşa. Within this neighborhood's, I study a very common form of accommodation and housing sub-market

[17] Therefore, the structure of this section on the cases is structured somewhat differently than the São Paulo discussion. In Tarlabaşı, although distinct housing forms exist, they are not completely distinct, mutually-exclusive entities - they are all, more or less, forms of exploitative rental housing.

for the urban poor in Istanbul: gecekondus. I elaborate on these different housing forms in the following site descriptions (see Table 9).

Housing form	**Neighborhood**	**Urban Category**
apartments managed by the Armenian church	Tarlabaşı (mahalle Şehitmuhtar)	Downtown
Single room occupancy	Tarlabaşı (mahalle Şehitmuhtar)	Downtown
Gecekondu	Gaziosmanpasa (mahalle of Serigöl)	Sub-Center

Table 9: Overview of the research sites in Istanbul, by author.

4.2.1 Housing from the Armenian church and "Single-Room-Occupations" in Tarlabaşı:

An excerpt from one of my interviews with a resident demonstrates how urban transformations have left their mark on the Tarlabaşı neighborhood and its occupants:

> *"When I came here to Tarlabaşı, 12 years ago, I realized from the beginning that very nice people are living here. And, after a while, I encountered friendship, love and charity. You know, as a woman I would say, in another district you cannot go out after dinner – about nine. But, here, no one cares. In fact, many of the boys who are selling their drugs in the street at night make sure that I am OK. They even take care of my kids when the children want to go to an Internet café. Of course, many people I know have already had to leave, so it is changing. The neighborhood and the people are changing."* [Suzan, Istanbul, 1: 13]

Beyond the experiences of its inhabitants, Tarlabaşı is a hot spot for urban renewal as well as urban research in Istanbul because it is one of the few remaining inner-city areas with informal housing. More specifically, the neighborhood has received much attention from developers, speculators, urban planners, and the international research community. As a result, there are countless descriptions about Tarlabaşı. For instance, Pérouse [2009] describes it as a "zone of transit", Göksu [2013] as "a neighborhood without present," and Yilmaz [2006] as inner-city slum. Without inventing still another label, I focus on specific circumstances within the neighborhood as affecting the local housing submarkets.

Over time Tarlabaşı experienced several stages of alteration in its spatial-geography as well as social structure. Particular events or turning points in its history and that of Turkey, however, make it possible to outline the current and future development of the district. Starting with the Greco-Turkish

War (1919-1922), the subsequent establishment of the Republic of Turkey included a population exchange agreement between the two countries resulted in the removal of Greeks from what is now known as modern Turkey [Gibney and Hansen, 2005]. Many Greeks were settled in Tarlabaşı and their forced departure left a huge stock of abandoned housing for the urban poor– commonly small buildings, four to five stores high with small hallways and outdated utilities. Soon after, the neighborhood became a major entry point for Kurds who began settling into the abandoned buildings amidst restrictions in other parts of the larger housing market.

Another redistribution or transformation in Tarlabaşı occurred in the 80s – in 1986 to be more precise – in the wake of an urban regeneration project called "Beyoglu" [Sandıkcı, 2014]. In order to build the Tarlabaşı Boulevard, now one of the most important routes between Taksim and the Golden Horn, several housing blocks were demolished. Moreover, the eight-lane wide street generated an artificial but enduring border dividing Tarlabaşı from the rest of Beyoglu. The now separated districts developed quite differently as a result. Beyoglu, especially Istiklei street, became the center of commerce and a model for modern Turkish consumption patterns of continuously newly established art galleries, coffee shops, and restaurants, in stark contrast, Tarlabaşı remained underdeveloped and peripheral to city planners and developers [Erkut and Shirazi, 2013: 63]. Unsurprisingly, this existing state of affairs shifted again in more recent history.

The first urban upgrade program within Tarlabaşı, named Taksim 360 (T360)[18] began in 2005 with the announcement of a renewal of Tarlabaşı by the local mayor [Islam and Sakizlioglu, 2015: 252]. The program not only displaced close to 2,200 people [Islam and Sakizlioglu, 2015], but also set incentives for further gentrification. The latter is evidenced in the vivid and constantly growing amount of Boutique Hotels in the last five to ten years. To further bring this brief history of punctuated moments in the housing dynamics of Tarlabaşı to the present: the social structure of the district is changing once again. This time, according to my observations, the accounts of other scholars, and the employees of the community center "Tarlabaşı Toplum Merkezi," it is taking the form of an influx of refugees in search of affordable housing and work opportunities to the area.

According to my field notes and interviews, a current picture of Tarlabaşı must account for its five mahallas – Çukur, Bostan, Kalyoncukullu, Şehitmuhtar, Bülbül – and show that each is distinct from the other. Even within a mahalle, a given housing block tends to differ from its neighboring block. The neighborhood is very densely populated with a complex and continuously changing, arguably unstable, social and housing structures. Its population includes a huge variety of minorities, the largest probably

[18] Taksim 360, a public-private partnership project realized with the cooperation of the Beyoglu Municipality and Çalık Gayrimenkul, seeks the 'beautification' of Tarlabaşı by demolishing old structures and creating new office spaces and condominiums. For a more detailed description see Sakizlioğlu [2014: 163ff]

being its Kurdish community [Pérouse, 2009]. And it has a diverse housing stock composed of historic buildings, some of them abandoned, existing in ruins and others nicely renovated and being used as boutique hotels, newly built luxury apartments, and the construction site of T360. At the intersection of these social and housing structures, and at the ground level, some adults (Kurds from Anatolia in particular) are cooking on open fires in the streets while kids play on the steep streets and while carpet dry on top of parked cars. Depending on the area within Tarlabaşı, other adults are tourists looking for "adventure," drug-dealers hawk their goods on the corners, patrons sitting in coffee shops, drinking cai, and residents and expats walk down the labyrinthine streets and alleys. This human medley partially reflects the differentiation of available housing sub-markets for the urban poor in Tarlabaşı into more 'formal' and 'informal' housing opportunities, which I now turn to.

4.2.1.1 Housing provided by the Armenian church

The Armenian church provides some access to more 'formal' housing options in the neighborhood. Following the historical course of the Armenian community in Turkey in general and in Tarlabaşı, a few buildings owned by Armenians in Tarlabaşı were not expropriated in the last century, which, in turn, eventually became real estate for the Armenian church. Now these buildings provide affordable housing for Armenians and occasionally for people of other ethnicities. As the map in Figure 14 shows, however, few buildings are still available to the urban poor.

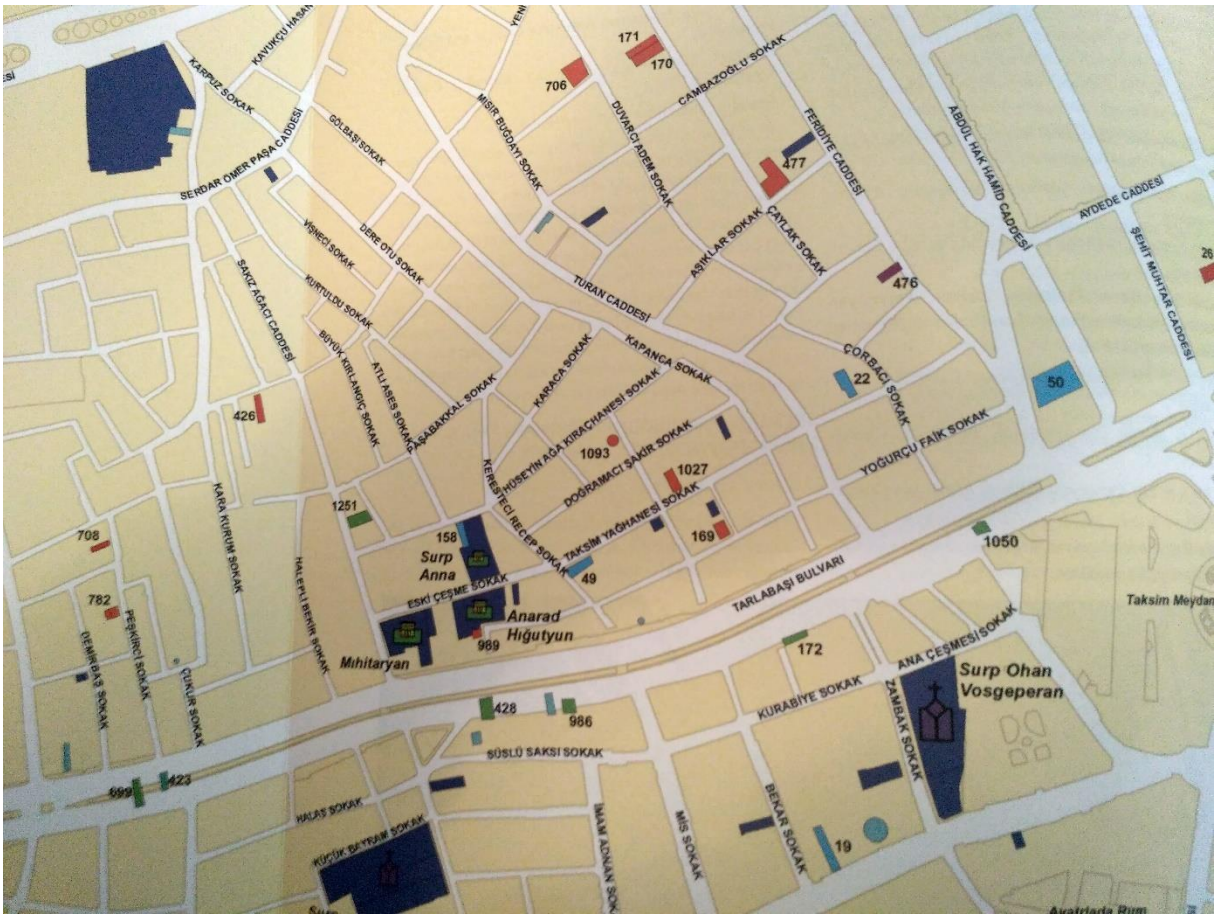

Figure 12: Map of Tarlabaşı (north from Tarlabaşı Boulevard), indicating Armenian church buildings in color. [Polatel et al., 2012: 228]

Through the course of my research, I found these buildings to visually 'fit' with the overall historic architecture of the neighborhood, but to also mainly appear more "run-down." This appearance of some neglect isn't shocking as the dwellers are obligated to maintain the buildings themselves as a tradeoff for low rents.

Given their limited resources, maintaining, repairing, and upgrading cracked facades or run-down stairways and utilities (e.g., electricity, gas and water) are not small tasks and must be undertaken in a more extemporary fashion by the dwellers. Notably, however, these same elements of auto-construction in this housing sub-market are correlated with place attachment, according to my interviews with several people living in Armenian church's buildings. Residents expressed, for example, feeling more closely connected to other renters in the same building compared to their previous housing experiences. Several interviewees also noted feeling a sense of belonging to and appreciation of the Armenian church as a networked community. Quantitative limitations of this housing option keep occupants in place, further reinforcing loyalty and investment in the community. Suzan and her family were frequent interviewees and 'gatekeepers' to their building in my research. They told me that even when they experienced situations where they could not pay the rent in full, the Armenian

church did not expel them. Suzan even described an occasion in which her household owed a large electricity payment that they could not afford and that she was successful in enlisting the Armenian church to pay the bill.

Importantly, though, the limitations of this housing sub-market are not only rooted in the number of available buildings or apartments therein. Additional restrictions are in place to access this housing form. When I entered the field, it took time to gain trust from the residents as well as Armenian church representatives. Once I earned their trust, they told me about Armenian ethnicity requirements for accessing any available housing. In short, eligibility for available units demands either Armenian ancestry or Armenian relatives. This limits availability to a small proportion of newcomers and represents a small proportion of all Tarlabaşı residents. As I came to learn from interviews with residents excluded from this small housing sub-market niche, Armenian church buildings are viewed as closed shops by some:

Figure 13: Entrance to Suzan's apartment within a building of the Armenian church, photo by O. Hildebrandt, 2015.

> *"Now, they [the Armenians] are discriminating. Now, if you go to them, asking for housing they won't give it to you. They give those cheap places only to their own people. They are helping the children of their own. They are helping some of the other poor, though too. I once was living here in a place connected to the Topkapı Church. Because I didn't pay rent, they kicked me out immediately. But, I had rebuilt two stories of the building instead. I had paid for it. But, somehow, it occurred in someone's mind that we hadn't paid rent. In reality, they had given us a very nice place to rent. When we couldn't pay, they kicked us out, and never let us in again."* [Yksel, Istanbul, 1: 22]

4.2.1.2 Single room occupancy "SROs"

Another segment of the local housing sub-market in Tarlabaşı are the "single room occupancy" (SROs) (i.e., "bachelor rooms"). Among the most frequent low-housing opportunities in Tarlabaşı, these rooms, are usually rented out by legitimate or non-legitimate landlords to refugees, single men from the countryside looking for labor, and other highly vulnerable groups, such as homeless single women [Pérouse, 2009] Common characteristics of these dwellings include cramped, small spaces with no windows (or only tiny ones) plus little ventilation and being located at the basement or the ground

level of apartment buildings. Although not well maintained, the landlord's regularly request deposit sums and rents above market value. In the past, these rooms were shared by recently-migrated "bachelors" seeking labor and low-price accommodations to devote their income to supporting families back home. These days the same spaces are treated as "apartments" – shared by several refugee families, or several single men and women. It is easily argued that they probably be the most exploitative housing form in the city both in terms of security of tenure and in terms of price for quality.

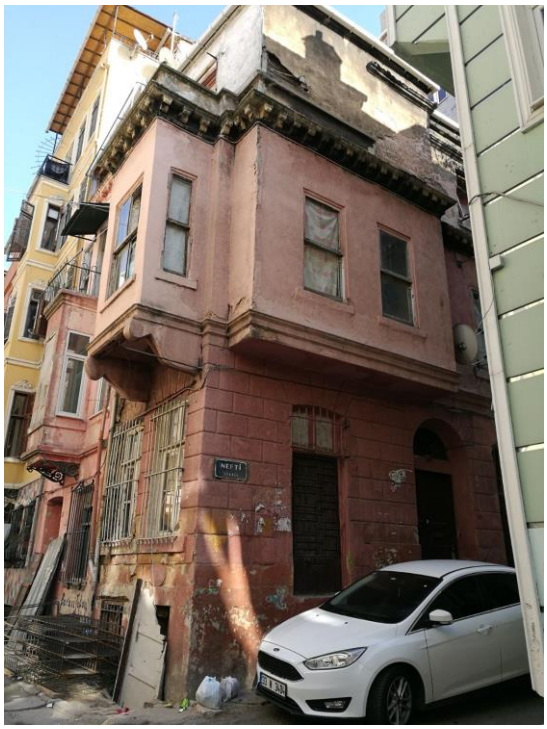

Figure 14: One of the identified SROs for refugees in Tarlabaşı. In the basement and the ground level several refugee families where housing in tiny apartments, photo by author, 2016.

With these features in mind, this housing sub-market bears a strong family resemblance to the cortiço housing sub-markets in São Paulo. The similarities include, a low quality of household/life conditions, a high level of insecurity of tenure, and rental exploitation. A building meeting the definition of this housing form happened to be located in the building next door to Suzan's Armenian church's building. She described her frequent talks a lot with neighbors from this dwelling despite the continuous fluctuation of occupants. Her impressions about those dwellings, conveyed in one of our interview sessions, shed light on the occupants and their lives:

> *"We have many Syrian refugees here. They are usually accommodated in a separate corner in one [shared] room, as many of them are singles. They usually avoid moving often because they try to save up cash to send some money back home. That's why they live in poor conditions: in order to look after their families. There are also some families where the husband left his wife in order to come here. I know some of these men. Now, the rent is currently under 1,500 Lira [per month]. But he's not going to be able to get that much. Minimum wage is 1,300 [per month]. Only if he deals drugs can he make enough, but he can't do that because of the fear for his family, the fear of going to prison. What can he do? He shares a 450-lira [per month] room with five people. You know how they have bunk beds in jails? They live in places with bunk beds, then let's say they each pay 150 lira a month, then he's able to send the rest back to his family."* [Suzan, Istanbul: 2: 9-10]

A good example of the housing trajectory of individuals in the originally single-occupancy room housing form comes from several interviews I conducted with Sabiha where she explained her pathway through that housing sub market.

Sabiha described living in several distinct single-rooms over the course of several years. To provide some context, her need to be in close proximity to Istiklei Street where she found informal labor restricted in her neighborhood options. However, as a single woman with critical political ideas and several pet cats, her range of options within the neighborhoods was arguably even more restricted than usual. These constraints pushed her towards the single room occupancy (SRO) housing form to obtain any housing at all. Unfortunately, each rental proved to be a short-term solution as it meant high prices for low-quality, short-tenure housing. Critically, she was prevented from staying any of these rentals for very long. Two excerpts from interviews with Sabiha are exemplary of the housing conditions she faced. The first quote describes SRO building she lived in for four months before the unit was evicted and she became temporarily homeless:

> *"They actually didn't say to leave, but the people are taking more from these foreigners and ... again, taking another deposit, everyone is doing the same thing. They are telling you to leave after two or three months. Besides, by the time you find a new house, 5-6 months have passed. Forget 3 months. As for the deposit, the landlord puts it in his pocket. The real estate agent puts it in his pocket. Then, after two months they ask for another deposit. In other words, they found a shortcut to get what they want, to use cheap ways. After that, I was stuck outside."* [Sabiha, Istanbul, 1: 14]

Clearly, the powerholders in this housing form (landlords and real estate agents) profited from a high turnaround in occupants, to the occupants' detriment.

The second excerpt captures the shared nature of Sabiha's experiences. In this situation, again, she rented another SRO for just a few months before she was compelled to "hit" the streets [Sabiha, Istanbul, 1: 16]:

> *"I rented it from a real estate agent. I paid the agent's fee. I gave him 600 million [600 lira] then in 2015. They were selling drugs in front of the door of the house. But I didn't have a problem with that, I was gone until late at night anyways. A few days later, he also brought the Syrians. Syrians with five or six children also lived [there], in the same room of the flat. He rented it to them for 500 million [500 lira]. He also got a deposit from them as well as the agent fee. He also got the deposit and agent fee from me! Then, a few weeks later, he gave me a week's notice to leave the place. It was in the middle of winter when he told me to leave. How can I find a house within a week? My dad then called the landlord. I don't know how many times he*

called. He said, let's pay the rent. He said, whatever you want, we can do it. He said, we can pay more money. No, the landlord was not persuaded. I left within a week. I took the cats and left."

As these examples show, the idea of legally-binding contracts between more or less legitimate landlords and tenants doesn't seem to apply to single room occupancy housing forms. The demand outweighs the supply to the extent that those renting out the rooms somehow manage to continuously accumulate profits regardless of the security of the housing commodity they are selling. The dynamics of SRO are usually that of high rents or high deposits or both, low maintenance, and several forms of tenant harassment by landlords closely resemble the cortiço housing form in São Paulo. The dubious attitudes of the landlords and the precarity of the tenants make legal prosecution difficult. Sabiha had a strong sense that the police would not even be interested in prosecuting the landlords were she to try filing a complaint. To reiterate, this segment of housing sub-market in Tarlabaşı is a striking example of exploitation practices in housing, especially in comparison to the affordable housing managed by the Armenian church.

4.2.2 The Gecekondus of Gaziosmanpaşa

The gecekondu housing sub-market I studied is located in Gaziosmanpaşa in Istanbul. These days, the Gaziosmanpaşa district is a lively sub-center, with distinct forms of commerce, labor, and consumption opportunities. The main square, "Cumhuriyet Meydani," has decent access to public transportation and therefore serves as a connection point for people commuting from the outskirts of the city to the inner regions of Golden Horn and Taksim. Due to hub role, some street vendors are visible, but the majority of commerce is formalized in small shops surrounding the square and on nearby streets. Distinct forms of urban renewal are also visible as a result of waves of urban transformation over the district's history. In general, the neighborhood is "quieter" and less "violent" than Tarlabaşı, although the police have erected several camera-surveillance "hotspots." Notably, and as seen in other urban cities (e.g., New York City), these surveillance structures tend to target minority populations, such as communities of Roma. The dwellers I

Figure 15: New-build condominiums in the front of the picture, the auto-constructed Gecekondus are visible in the back of the picture, the neighborhood of Sarigöl, Gaziosmanpaşa (Istanbul), photo by O. Hildebrandt, 2016.

spoke with broadly describe themselves and the neighborhood as stable, homogenous, and more conservative than Tarlabaşı or other districts.

The sense of stability and rough unity among the inhabitants is interesting given the Gaziosmanpaşa district's recent major development project: the construction of Vialand. Vialand "development" is a luxury-hotel complex that includes a theme park and a shopping mall. If something stands out to the poor residents as a break with the norms of the neighborhood, it's this project. According to residents, the Vialand undeniably changed the mahalla of Serigöl and others mahallas in Gaziosmanpaşa. The displacement pressures experienced by nearly all poor and lower-class individuals and families in that area have been exacerbated by this development. However, also according to interview statements and data from the questionnaire, ethnic, cultural, or political minorities are bearing the bulk of displacement forces. Indeed, even if dwellers successfully struggle against displacement from the onset of pressure, the possibility of staying put is far from guaranteed (as the next chapter shows in greater detail with the example of Makbule and her family).

Additionally, Gaziosmanpaşa as a sub-center with a population of urban poor serves as an "overflow tank" for the already displaced from other parts of Istanbul. By doing so, the district's housing sub-markets are marked by increasing demand for housing and with that increasing pressure on current household, whether due to market or state forces. In other words, as more and more people are migrating to this district and recent developments are driving urban transformations, security of tenure is increasingly in jeopardy for renters as well as owners. While renters suffer disproportionately from displacements, owners who have struggled their entire lives to provide their children and grandchildren with housing assets also suffer in these circumstances.

3.2.1 Gecekondus

Situated historically, Gaziosmanpaşa was nothing more than a rocky field, smattered with some trees, outside the city limits of Istanbul until the middle of the 20th century [Gökşin, Yazıcı and Töre, 2016]. In one origin-narrative I heard from Şadi [Istanbul, 1. 15ff], a 65-year-old resident and Roma, the district's emergence came out of a massive relocation plan put into place in the 1950s, wherein several Roma families were displaced from the civic center. More precisely, the Roma were pushed from the area around the "Grand Basar," where the families formerly found housing and labor, and occupied the empty land that became Gaziosmanpaşa. Now on the outskirts of the city, the Roma families found themselves needing to develop an area lacking access to electricity, water, transportation, and other forms of urban infrastructure. Slowly other ethnic groups migrating to Istanbul over the years began to join the burgeoning settlement in Gaziosmanpaşa. They too contributed to developing, via auto-construction, dwellings, streets, and access to basic amenities. Şadi's [Istanbul, 1: 18] first-hand account speaks volumes:

> *"Here, at that time, there were lumber merchants cutting down trees and bringing them here for selling them. These people were selling timber here. And the Romanis, who were homeless here, were buying trees, were buying timber, were buying plywood. They were trying to build their houses by themselves. After they built them, of course when they got some money in their hands, they tore down the wooden walls and rebuilt them with stone. They came until 1984."*

Since the 1970s, when the pace of land-flight accelerated, many immigrants from Eastern and Southeast Anatolia also moved to Gaziosmanpaşa and erected extra-legal dwellings, referred to as gecekondus, on public land [Gökşin, Yazıcı and Töre, 2016]. Gecekondus are best described as little, self-built homes. In the early stages of the settlement, the gecekondus were usually one story high and very simplistic, only verticalized/extended or upgraded through auto-construction as the family grew, and money came in. They often included and continue to include a little garden in which the dwellers can grow plants, trees and vegetables. According to my comparative experiences and those of other scholars comparing "megacities" [e.g., Davis 2007], gecekondu dwellings are very similar to favelas in terms of auto-construction, geographic location towards the (former) outskirts of the city center, and the fact that both were usually initially erected after the occupation of public lands make the original inhabitants primary "owners," to name a few.

Considering that many dwellers came from the rural areas, the neat little fences, alleys, and green spaces of gecekondus can be understood as an urban variant of the dwellings in their villages of origin. In these ways, Gaziosmanpaşa differs substantially from the hectic, chaotic inner-city life of Tarlabaşı with its cement walls, construction, and absence of trees. In addition to the built, physical environment, the social ties and interaction patterns from rural areas were imported into the neighborhood. In my interviews, many dwellers said that in former days, social cohesion and self-help networks were crucial for not only getting by, but also for getting ahead.

Over the 1980s, the nation of Turkey and Istanbul in particular passed several amnesty laws legalizing the illegally built gecekondus in Gaziosmanpaşa and elsewhere in the city [Duyar-Kienast, 2005]. In a departure from some earlier legalization laws, the redevelopment of sections of the gecekondu was to the language. The negotiations between the dwellers and the municipality eventually led to an agreement where dwellers would receive compensation in the form of housing units in newly developed apartment buildings should their gecekondus be demolished. These redeveloped buildings are among the major housing forms next to the remaining gecekondus. The latter entered a form a legal limbo following the 1987 law - some became formalized, others started the process of formalization, and still others never received any legal documentation.

As the amnesty laws were written, implemented, extended and re-written of the 80s, more gecekondus were erected. Over time, the amount of available space diminished and new constructions largely came to a halt. However, the legal system is inconsistent and inconsistently managed in terms of what building met what requirement at what time. This underlies many of the current struggles of many Gecekondus dwellers. In particular, a "risk zone" law[19] was applied in several areas of Serigöl and other mahallas in Gaziosmanpaşa, but legal gaps meant certain dwellers received no notice about illegality add-ons to their original construction and were shocked to be obligated to cut their buildings back. In other instances, when an entire gecekondu is slated for demolition, the dwellers are being forced to show proof about land register entries, ownership, and so on to ensure some compensation.

To conclude, this account of the historical dynamics of the Gaziosmanpaşa district points to various factors influencing its architectural and socio-spatial present. The neighborhood at its inception was almost solely occupied by Gecekondu "owners," but piecemeal amnesty laws and gentrification in many parts of the city [Uzun, 2013] are transforming more and more owner-occupied apartments as well as gecekondus into rental apartments, according to multiple reports from gecekondu dwellers. These transformations within the local housing sub market are similar to the developments in the favelas of São Paulo. The largest majority of dwellers and therefore the largest majority of interviewees in my sample are still owners. These same people also link the related pressures of urban change and newly arriving dwellers to ongoing experiences of individualization in and alienation from their community and its surroundings.

4.3. Concluding remarks

As stated in the introduction to this chapter, accounting for ***where*** or in what contexts the urban poor deal with the risk of displacement through thick descriptions of the cases lays a foundation for explanations of ***how*** the urban poor respond to various displacement risks. As this chapter shows, the different sub-housing forms provide important access-points as well as reveal important limitations in access to distinct sub-groups of the urban poor in each city. Interestingly, although the housing markets in São Paulo and Istanbul evolved in different contexts, several similarities are identifiable. For instance, certain elements of the "single room occupancy" housing form are highly comparable to those of cortiços. Similarly, favela housing forms share similar features with gecekondus. Those similar features can be illustrated net to others already by looking at those housing forms, and the similar architecture they share.

[19] Risk zones are considered by la was areas with a high risk being affected by earthquakes and therefore specific precautions and construction techniques are required. However, the decisions of which area got labeled as a "risk area" is often a matter of dispute between the dwellers and authorities.

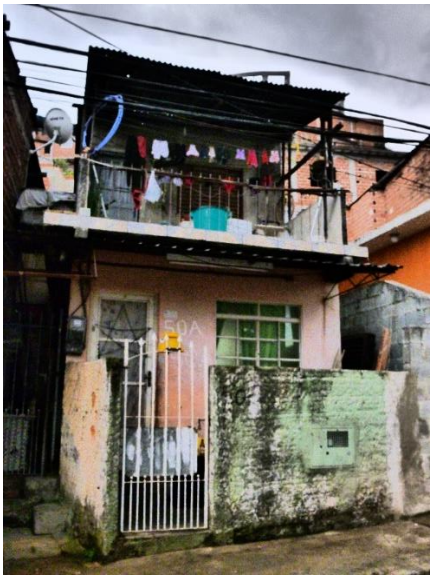

Figure 16: Former shag in Favela Vila Nova Jaquaré (São Paulo), picture by O. Hildebrandt, 2015.

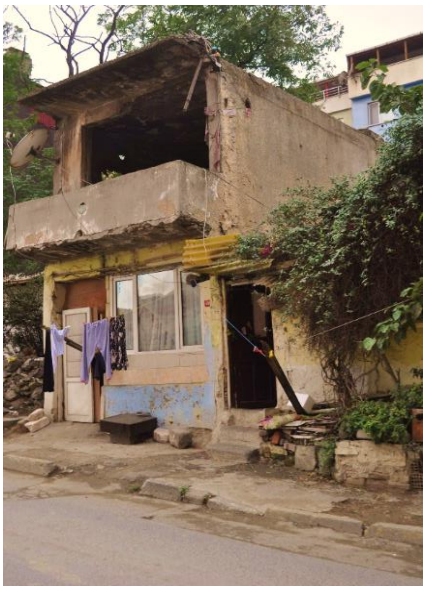

Figure 17: Former shag in Sarigöl (Istanbul), photo by O. Hildebrandt, 2016.

At the level of relations between dwellers, their housing forms, powerholders, and urban transformation impacts, the interaction dynamics between housing sub-markets with the neighborhoods they are located in are patterned. At the broadest levels these dynamics reflect the dual-processes of being shaped by as well as shaping the surrounding built environment. Through an examination of more specific interdependencies, the complex dynamics of the housing sub-markets become evident while simultaneously allowing their comparison across housing forms within both São Paulo and Istanbul to reveal processes or mechanisms in both urban spheres. Moreover, the thick descriptions hint at the scripted knowledge, schemas, or strategies of the urban poor in navigating these housing system dynamics and underscore the creativity and innovation required to apply this know-how as conditions change. In short, forms of agency and action among the urban poor are comparable within these comparable systems of durable housing inequalities. Accordingly, the next chapter focuses on these strategies and lines of action.

5. Anti-Displacement strategies of the urban poor

This chapter answers the core research question of this study: "How do urban poor cope with (the risk) of displacement?" As a starting point, I describe what I mean by "strategies" and how this conceptualization applies to the larger theoretical framework of durable housing inequalities [Tilly 1999]. To do so, I discuss scholarly accounts addressing somewhat similar questions. In the next step, I sociologically categorize the strategies according to Bourdieu's theory of capital, identify the elements that matter for the strategies I found in my investigation, and finally reframe them into a typology that aligns with Tilly's mechanisms of durable inequalities.

5.1 Defining strategies

As detailed in previous chapters, I treat poverty as a multi-dimensional and intersectional phenomenon in this research. Therefore, I assume that forms of agency in terms of staying put are unlikely to be one-dimensional. Instead, and following the literature, I expect that activities to counter displacement among the urban poor may comprise several strategies and that these strategies may apply in tandem on different levels or dimensions. Despite differences between São Paulo and Istanbul, I also anticipate a degree of equivalence or comparability between the two cities in terms of durable housing inequalities. That means that the urban poor develop strategies that align with forms of adaptation and emulation, for example, which can be compared between those two cities. Furthermore, although the literature on poverty and culture is booming once again [e.g., Small, Lamont and Harding 2010; Wilson 2009; Small and Newman, 2001], I avoid a sole emphasis on cultural explanations.

Most-different case study comparisons risk falling into stereotypical models of explanation and can consequently reduce the richness of explanation. This begs the question: how can a multi-dimensional approach to understanding the coping strategies of the urban poor be framed? So far, this question remains largely unanswered by the academic community. Heflin, London and Scott [2011: 224] point to the lack of processual accounts and explanations:

> *"Despite decades of research on the prevalence and correlates of various domains of material hardship, very little is known about the social processes by which households try to mitigate hardship when finances are tight or how those processes vary across different domains of material hardship."*

From my reading, it is possible to draw on scholarship from social movements and contentious politics where agency, multidimensionality, and resistance are tied to a diverse range of disciplines.

For example, I can make a clear connection between the efforts of the urban poor to avoid displacement and forms of resistance towards legal authorities Ewick and Silbey [2003: 1323] studied.

The authors observe that "resistance […] draws from a common pool of sociocultural resources, including symbolic, linguistic, organizational, and material phenomena". While their research is not primarily focusing on the housing issue, they successfully apply a multi-dimensional approach to strategies when it comes to processes of resistance against state authorities. Furthermore, they highlight the importance of looking for different scopes of responses:

> *"Although scholars have long documented the resistant practices of subordinates in social interactions, they have given these activities considerably less attention than they have to more organized challenges to power, such as revolutions, strikes, boycotts, or class-action suits. […] More recently, however, scholars have claimed that the seemingly small acts of defiance engaged in by persons in subordinate positions also make history, albeit a history that often seems to remain "on course." […] Variously referred to as secondary adjustments (Goffman 1961), tactics (De Certeau 1984), or "weapons" of the weak (Scott 1985), these everyday acts of resistance represent the ways in which relatively powerless persons accommodate to power while simultaneously protecting their interests and identities."* [Ewick and Silbey, 2003: 1329]

Ewick and Silbey underscore the need to identify multi-dimensional strategies that vary in scope and level of organization [see also Bayat 2010].

However, as Heflin, London and Scott [2011] criticize, most of these accounts neither offer rich descriptions nor does specifically focus on housing inequalities. Similar lines of critique can be formulated using numerous other examples. For instance, Hill and Kauff [2001: 40] conclude that "gaps still exist in our understanding of families facing deep poverty", despite their detailed study of families reporting very low incomes and receiving social welfare at the same time. From a different approach, Lee, Slack, and Lewis [2004] analyzed longitudinal survey and administrative data on 1998 welfare recipients in Illinois and pinpointed certain "trade off" strategies, but did not formulate rich descriptions or elaborate on the strategies identified. Returning to Ewick and Silbey [2003], the authors note in their research that findings from Heflin, Sandberg, and Rafail [2009] suggest different forms of hardship should be analyzed separately. In other words, that the strategies of the urban poor are likely to depend on differing dimensions of poverty (e.g. education, health, housing).

One of the most prominent studies addressing these gaps in our understandings of the coping mechanisms of the urban poor is arguably *Making Ends Meet*, by Edin and Lein [1997]. They interviewed nearly four hundred low-income single mothers on welfare in the United States and described the different ways these women deal with reduced resources in order to provide the necessities of living for themselves and their families. In line with other scholarship, the authors conclude that regardless of whether individuals receive welfare or are employed, they all need to

supplement their income with menial, "off-the-books" work and financial aid from relatives or local charities. In light of these accounts, it is possible to recognize the need for additional research on the multi-dimensional nature of coping strategies as well as conceptualize that is meant by "strategies."

Coping strategies can be broadly understood as multi-dimensional, intersectional, sets of strategies that can vary in scope, can be simultaneously applied, and can differ along different dimensions and intersections of poverty. To develop this concept further and apply it to this study, it is necessary to consider how such processes may work in different intra-urban as well as inter-urban settings. Boterman [2012] has approached this issue creatively by suggesting that in a Bourdieuian framework, different forms of capital (as described in chapter two and as I will elaborate in greater detail in this chapter) are applicable to finding strategies in different housing submarkets. Boterman's research asked the question: "How do middle-class households use various forms of capital to find a home in different housing fields"? While his approach certainly differs in many respects – the target population was middle-class households, the research took place in the global north, and asked about acquiring housing – his theoretical framework for conceptualizing housing as well as his search for coping strategies in three different cities and three different forms of housing sub-markets offers crucial insights.

Boterman successfully builds an argument, which draws on the work of Van Kempen & Özükren [1998], Farley [1996], Krysan [2008] and Clapham [2005], that different and distinct mechanisms and forms of coping strategies are scientifically evident when it comes to acquiring housing. His main argument, though, is relies most substantively on the work of Bourdieu [1984, 1990a, 2005]:[20]

> *"[…] who adopts an "economistic" perspective on social affairs in which various forms of capital (economic, social, cultural and symbolic) play a role in obtaining material and symbolic goods. […] Applying these ideas to housing, this paper considers all means that may give access to housing as forms of capital. Capital is considered relational, that is, it only becomes "valuable" when it becomes articulated in relation to the practices of other agents in a specific context, which is called a field. Access to housing is therefore influenced by the amount and types of capital at one's disposal, which is determined by habitus and the specific field in which it is used. Yet it is not the product of a static class position, but the result of a dynamic interplay of dispositions and the behavior in a field. Subjects are not to be seen as actors that are wittingly*

[20] Given space limitations, my coverage must be selective, emphasizing the issues I find to be most pressing. The literature on capital theory is vast and multidisciplinary. It is not possible to do justice to all approaches here or review the various controversies, misunderstandings, and abuses in the definitional literature.

> *and rationally choosing housing, but their behavior should be understood as "interested" and strategical, but (un)consciously produced through the habitus […]*". [Boterman, 2012: 324]

In short, Boterman highlights that class distinctions among other forms of capitals are important factors for acquiring housing and the strategies for doing so. Because more affluent classes generally have more capital to apply strategically, they are more likely to be successful in their ambitions of finding adequate housing. Importantly, though, economic capital alone does not account for success or strategic actions.

Boterman argues that strategies for acquiring housing are interlinked with different forms of capital, the possibilities of their disposal and are depending on different housing settings.

> *"Middle classes do not only have relatively more economic capital, but may also have better access to information, and have a broader and more "useful" social network. Yet, how housing success is produced and experienced may differ between various middle-class habituses and housing fields."* [Boterman, 2012: 324]

A major issue with this preliminary description of strategies is that the definition is underspecified. That is, if strategies are differentiated according to "interested" behavior, how do we determine what is "interested" and "strategical" compared to what is not? As Boterman recognizes, not every decision or action is based on rational self-interest. In short, we are all limited in terms of our understandings of human cognition and its connection to strategies of action.

With reference to Bourdieu's concept of strategies as described in Jenkins [2002: 83], Boterman [2012: 325] defines strategies as follows:

> "*I consider getting hold of a dwelling as a process that is sometimes strategical, in the sense of reflexive decision-making, and sometimes tactical in the sense that one has to intuitively react on constraints imposed by the market and institutional conditions. Whether practices are strategical or tactical differs between the dynamic between fields and habitus. What specific forms of capital are useful depends on the field in which one is engaged. We can thus think of a housing system of consisting of housing fields (submarkets and non-market allocation mechanisms) that are all operated by specific forms of capital, which are deployed in strategical and tactical practice in time and space. According to the level of reflexivity of the subjects and the timescale of these practices the outcomes are then experienced by people as more or less related to coincidence."*

This definition is central to the one I utilize in this study. It offers a template because the analytical similarities and theoretical inter-linkages between Bourdieu, Boterman and my own research are

profound (e.g. in terms of conceptualizing housing submarkets, appliance of different strategies a la different forms of capital). In short, we are in alignment when it comes to the issues of housing access and incorporating the differences between strategies and tactics.

Moreover, when considering processes of urban transformations (e.g., gentrification or slum upgrades), it becomes obvious that staying put relies on the deployable forms of capital in ways akin to acquiring housing. This is also to say that the middle class suffer from displacement risks, although of a somewhat different type than the urban poor I study here. Therefore, I apply Boterman's definition of strategies by exchanging "getting hold of a dwelling" to "staying put in a dwelling." Housing strategies can be plainly summarized as those actions aimed to improve one's housing situation over time while simultaneously avoiding displacement. The anti-displacement strategies of the urban poor are therefore also routes of transition, in many instances, through different precarious housing forms to eventually reach a permanent solution for adequate housing. They are performed, moreover, locally in terms of responding to the historical, political, economic, cultural and social conditions of a city's housing system.

In brief, then, and in conjunction with Tilly's theory of durable inequalities, I show in what follows that a) strategies are processes that take the form of capital transactions (i.e., economic, social and cultural capital) in order to secure or improve a housing situation but b) also mechanisms that, for the most part, reinforce durable housing inequalities.

5.2 Strategies as processes in terms of forms of capital transactions (economic, social and cultural capital)

Following the abovementioned arguments, I explain the connection between the different forms of capital [Bourdieu, 1986], although not always strictly speaking in his terms, and strategies applied by the research participants. To this end, I introduce each form of capital and give examples of them as strategic transactions using my empirical evidence. I should highlight, though, that it is not possible to identify a single type of capital utilized as equal to one particular strategy. Strategies using social or cultural capital transactions are often intermixed. That is, types of capital can be applied at the same time even when one type of capital is dominant. Table 10 summarizes the types of capital as they relate to the common strategies of the urban poor to counter displacement pressures in São Paulo and Istanbul[21].

[21] Again, although not mentioned here, the urban poor use of course a greater variety of strategies as I could possibly present here. Therefore, other forms, such as for instance, skills sharing or investment in housing accommodation (e.g., repairing leaks, building furniture, etc.), informal forms of security (eyes on the streets or on other residents) or resource-pooling such as one person providing childcare for neighbors so they can work and receiving meals in return or physical protection from the neighbor families have been noticed in the data, too, but the empirical evidence is not as prominent as with the examples given.

Types of capital	Daily routines/Strategies
Economic	Trade-offs, accumulating assets, increasing housing density, increasing income, and moving out (renters v. owners).
Social	Self-help or mutual aid networks and forms of political collective activism.
Cultural	Seeking agreements and using the legislative system

Table 10: Summary of types of capital and their strategic manifestations, by author.

5.2.1 Economic capital and economic strategies

Economic capital is arguably the most comprehensible form of capital as it can be understood as having a relatively stable monetary value and as following the core principles of economics. Bourdieu [1986: 16] defines it as "[…] *capital*, which is immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the forms of property rights". In clear parallel to Tilly's view of the economic underpinnings of durable inequalities, Bourdieu conceptualizes this type of capital as the foundation or "root" of the other types of capital. For him, all of the other types can be derived from economic capital, "but only at the cost of a more or less great effort of transformation, which is needed to produce the type of power effective in the field in question" [Bourdieu, 1986: 24]. Despite the dominant functionality of economic capital, not every good in question can be acquired by it alone. For example, finding a housing unit depends on one's available monetary resources but it also requires the information where accommodation is available. In other words, being able to pay the rent is only one side of the story of securing housing. To find an affordable unit requires some sort of knowledge (e.g. friends who know where a unit is available). Bourdieu frames the connection between economic and non-economic forms of capital:

> "*For example, there are some goods and services to which economic capital gives immediate access, without secondary costs; others can be obtained only by virtue of a social capital of relationships (or social obligations) which cannot act instantaneously, at the appropriate moment, unless they have been established and maintained for a long time, as if for their own sake, and therefore outside their period of use, i.e., at the cost of an investment in sociability which is necessarily long-term because the time lag is one of the factors of the transmutation of a pure and simple debt into that recognition of nonspecific indebtedness which is called gratitude.*" [Bourdieu, 1986: 24]

As we can easily imagine, strategies by the urban poor to avoid displacements that focus on the utilization of economic capital are manifold. I identified a number of economic strategies in the daily routines of the urban poor in São Paulo and Istanbul.

Along a continuum of economic strategies and practices, I found the following to be common in frequency and across respondents: a) trade-offs, b) asset accumulation, c) increasing housing density, d) increasing income, and e) moving out or housing exit. This is not an exhaustive list. Rather, these strategies demonstrate the different ways in which the urban poor use economic capital as a mean to stay put. The listed economic strategies were evidenced in the data provided by the research participants (e.g., via interviews) as the most common responses urban poor engage with initially and continue to use on a long-term basis. They can further be seen as the most frequent tactics the urban poor apply when experiencing displacement pressure as countering strategies. To reiterate, the majority of research participants elaborated on these strategies in great detail during interviews as well as within the survey, as I will show later. In line with their accounts, I detail each of these five anti-displacement, economic strategies or types of "economic responses".

a) Trade-offs

Trade-offs are conceptualized within this research not only as ways to reduce expenditures, but also as temporary strategies in which the urban poor reallocate economic capital to meet financial demands, such as rents, loans, or costs of utilities. As the term itself implies, trade-offs tend to be compromises to disjunctures between economic needs and economic means. The research participants reported that trade-offs are simultaneously applied with other strategies, in many instances, and are a common economic strategy in all the distinct forms of precarious housing.

The economic resources available to the urban poor for reallocation are constrained. They are often limited to the most basic needs of a human being, such as food nutrition, health, and personal security. Reducing expenditures on food to afford paying the rent appears was the most frequently applied trade-off strategy I came across within the interviews. I found that the majority of urban poor interviewees in both cities experienced at least one episode of malnutrition in their adult lifetime in order to secure accommodation. More specifically, 12 of the 18 interviewees in São Paulo stated such an episode. In Istanbul, 9 of the 15 persons reported such an episode in their interview. Two interview statements capturing this more specific trade-off strategy are illustrative.

Patricia, originally from Bras (the neighborhood Caldeira [2000] focuses on) and now the coordinator of the occupation in the Centro of São Paulo, explained in an interview: "We were allowed to live a little better, but in return had this cost, you know, if you pay rent, you do not eat, if you eat, you do not pay the rent" [Patricia, São Paulo: 1: 13]. Here, the incompatibility between meeting proper

food needs and proper housing needs is clear as day. Cida's account is similar. A single mother living in a cortiço, Cida repeatedly described this interlocking trade-off experience as an ongoing feature of being among the urban poor. In her statement, the strategic trade-off (food versus rent) is further paired with frustration because even if she consistently pays her rent a single gap in this pattern can lead to eviction.

> *"I've been through that, you know. I had to take away from the mouth to pay the rent, because the rent you pay today, tomorrow you are laying your head on the pillow already thinking about the next rent you have to pay. And you have to pay rent for what? Because I've suffered already from eviction, when I couldn't pay the rent for one month. […] I was feeling like, that the owner does not want to know your situation […] if you can afford it or not. He thinks only about his pocket. If you have paid, you stay. If you have not paid, you get out. Get it? [Cida, São Paulo, 1: 7-8]*

As these two quotes demonstrate, the basic human needs of shelter and food are economically interlinked. Due to limited economic capital, one can imagine other similar trade-offs to pay the rent beyond buying food (e.g., not using electricity or other utilities, not obtaining proper footwear, etc.).

b) Accumulation of assets[22]

Poverty in the face of precarious housing also means that the economic capital for gathering assets is very limited. Multidimensional poverty can exacerbate the hurdles to asset accumulation, for example, when working informally, being paid less than minimum wage requirements, or being a single mother. My interviews indicate that many of the urban poor in São Paulo and Istanbul have become accustomed to finding housing niches in which they can attempt to gather assets. This strategy can take the form of living in poor conditions in order to save money (as discussed in the thick case description of short-term cortiço inhabitants), finding housing where personal property, such as household furnishings and technical equipment can be stored safely, or auto-constructing housing/occupying land or buildings to make the housing itself an asset. This strategy is highly visible in Cida's decision to live in the cortiço, for Arlete in the occupation at Batata Square, as well as for Sabiha in Tarlabaşı.

Choosing or developing a housing form where it is not necessary to pay rent can change the socio-economic status of a household on a long-term basis. Cida's description highlights how different

[22] Economic assets are understood here roughly as objects "(a) over which ownership rights are enforced by institutional units, individually or collectively, and (b) from which economic benefits may be derived by their owners by holding them, or using them, over a period of time". [Harrison, 2006: 1]

kinds of assets are fungible and also how rent-free housing itself can be the most powerful asset for the urban poor.

> *"Like, at the time I got kicked out with my child, that child today is thirteen at the time I was evicted he was two, you know? Then I had to do what? Sell all the things I had at home, sell myself to a stranger, or go to stay with a friend? A friend of mine picked me up and let us stay in her home.[...] Now, with calling this little room here [at the cortiço] mine, it got better, got better. The money is multiplying, [laughs] and I'm saving a little, something I was not doing when I was paying rent. […] Yeah, and then Satyro took me here and said that her daughter wants to sell the room, if I wanted to buy, if I was interested. I asked for the price, it was 800 Reais. Once I had the money together I bought it. Because I thought, to say so, it will relieve me a lot, in fact going to relieve me. […] I do not work in the mall anymore, as I used to as a cleaning lady, now I am going out for shopping there! […] I'm also not afraid of the eviction in the future. Particularly, a year ago, I was afraid, but today I'm not afraid anymore. Because today, I say so, all I have achieved today, all I'm getting, I own this place, you know? I will not neglect the place, you know? I managed to get so far already -I own that place here". [Cida, São Paulo, 1: 14-15]*

Accumulating assets, savings, or some wealth is a powerful strategy for lessening displacement pressures. In Cida's case, it has changed her social position. Because of her accumulation of economic capital, she can go to the mall as a consumer as opposed to only going there to work by cleaning the space for others. In these terms, Cida has not only acquired economic capital, but also cultural capital (e.g. in form of the prestige of being able to shop at the mall and not clean it anymore). Her ambitions have also changed insofar as she looks more positively towards her future. Moreover, her account points to the blurred boundaries between different types of strategies. Most notably, Cida's social network (her social capital) proved crucial to achieving the economic strategy of accumulating assets.

In the framework of the research, some of the housing forms I studied did not require the dwellers pay a fixed rent or any rent. This was more or less true in the cases of abandoned buildings, such as the cortiço or some buildings in Tarlabaşı, and in certain housing-movement supported housing. The dwellers in Arlete's house or in buildings from FLM I interviewed stated that they do not pay rent, but pay a contribution according to their economic resources. However, these housing forms usually provide less security of tenure (e.g. due to undefined property titles, they might put the dwellers in an ongoing jeopardy regarding displacements). The abandoned cortiço at Santa Cecilia is a good example of this. All my interviewees at this site were aware of looming eviction. As a result, many were saving as much money as they can in anticipation of that day.

The figures from the surveys I conducted in each city indicate that the experience of waiting for eviction or anticipating it is more frequent in Istanbul. As Table 11 shows, 37% to 51% of the survey respondents in Istanbul stated they were awaiting eviction if they cannot afford to pay the rent or the interest rates. The figures are smaller for São Paulo. The patterns are distinct within each city across the different cases. Notably, it appears that those urban poor "renting" in Istanbul are less likely to wait for eviction (in single room occupancy) than those who are owners (in the gecekondu), with the differences probably rooted in the higher insecurity of tenure for renters in Istanbul (see 5.3 below). In São Paulo, the figures are more equally distributed across housing forms (around 13%), but display a clear drop for the case of the favelas Vila Nova Jaguaré (6%), which again would be an argument for the security of tenure likewise in Istanbul. That noted, the differences between São Paulo and Istanbul are clear. According to interview statements, including "less fear about eviction," "trust in alternative solutions for avoiding eviction in the end," and "this is all part of the overall process of negotiations," I hypothesize that a) the urban poor in São Paulo rely more on strategies for avoiding eviction and seeing it as a routine threat than the urban poor in Istanbul and b) that waiting for eviction also prolongs the stay in a dwelling where economic assets can be gathered.

What would you do if you couldn't pay your rent anymore	**Wait until I am evicted**
Occupation by non-movement	13%
Occupation by movement	16%
Favela Vila Nova Jaguaré	6%
Favela Paraisópolis	13%
Gecekondu	51%
"SROs"	37%

Table 11: Survey results from São Paulo and Istanbul on eviction threat.

c) Increasing housing density

Increasing the density of one's household or housing space is another economic strategy for countering displacement that I observed in both cities. Letting other people move into your apartment or accommodation is a cost-sharing strategy. Although not always collaborative (e.g., sometimes imposed by a landlord or other housing decision-maker) the rule of thumb is that the more people, the more you can share the costs for rent and other expenditures or bring in additional income for covering the mortgage. For example, according to the narratives of the older research participants I interviewed, it is common for the urban poor to move into the shacks of their relatives in a favela or gecekondu to save up money by pooling their resources. The strategy of increasing the housing density is pragmatic given other considerations. For instance, the available housing stock in the immediate and surrounding areas are being limited through gentrification.

However, there is a discrepancy between the qualitative and the quantitative data. Although several interview partners within diverse settings in both cities articulated using this strategy, it could not be confirmed for all cases within the survey. This divergence in the findings stood out for two housing forms in São Paulo: the occupation by non-movement actors and the favela Paraisópolis. As the survey is not representative, the finding is questionable, but looking into the income levels across the cases provides one possible explanation. According to the survey, the two outlier housing forms share the lowest distribution of economic income when compared to the other cases in São Paulo. Therefore, my hunch is that the strategy of increasing housing unit density is more commonly applied the lower one's economic capital.

What would you do if you couldn't pay your rent anymore	Let someone move into my place or move into someone else's place
Occupation by non-movement	23%
Occupation by movement	12%
Favela (Vila Nova Jaguaré)	10%
Favela (Paraisópolis)	33%
Gecekondus	6%
"SROs"	7%

Table 12: Survey results from São Paulo and Istanbul on housing density increases.

d) Increasing income

The fourth strategy I identify is that of directly increasing income via increased employment. In other words, the urban poor counter displacement pressures (e.g., rising costs associated with urban transformations) by trying to increase their available economic capital. However, as many interviewee partners observed, multiple co-factors shape the utility of this strategy. These co-factors include available time, work opportunities, and the proximity of work options. The survey results indicate that this strategy is common (see Table 13). Around 50 percent of favela occupants reported they would explore finding another job in the face of insufficient funds for housing. While not as high in other housing forms, including the similar gecekondu housing form, even here almost 20 percent or more respondents responded positively to this survey item.

What would you do if you couldn't pay your rent anymore	Finding another/additional job
Occupation by non-movement	19%
Occupation by movement	34%
Favela (Vila Nova Jaguaré)	47%
Favela (Paraisópolis)	53%
Gecekondu	18%
"SROs"	21%

Table 13: Survey results from São Paulo and Istanbul on increasing income via employment.

Of course, in addition to the long-term provisions the strategy of additional employment can provide, another option for increasing income on a short-term basis is borrowing money., A substantial number of the people I interviewed as well as those surveyed indicated this possibility (see Table 14). Interviewees described receiving or requesting loans from friends or relatives to compensate, at least temporarily, for financial losses or increased expenditures. Given the intergenerational, familial, and networked nature of poverty (and types of capital), it is not surprising that the percentages of respondents borrowing money to increase income is lower than for seeking additional employment to increase income. Taken together strategies to increase income via seeking work (or additional employment) and borrowing are among the routines of the urban poor despite the survey limitations.

What would you do if you couldn't pay your rent anymore	Borrow money
Occupation by non-movement	16%
Occupation by movement	17%
Favela (Vila Nova Jaguaré)	15%
Favela (Paraisópolis)	23%
Gecekondus	10%
"SROs"	19%

Table 14: Survey results from São Paulo and Istanbul on increasing income via loans.

e) Moving out

As a matter of fact, when threatened with the inability to pay rent, many among the urban poor consider changing their housing. While this could include increasing the housing/household density as described above, moving out or moving elsewhere is a qualitatively different matter. The strategy of moving out or exiting an accommodation can go in two different directions: either trying to stay in their neighborhood or leaving it. The gentrification literature emphasizes moving to the periphery based on the reduced housing stock within the central areas as important to dynamics of displacement, yet Holm [2014] argues that due to the overall reduced housing stock in urban areas renters who are affected by gentrifications tend to seek ways to stay in their neighborhood. Therefore, I chose to ask the survey respondents which of the two options they would prefer. Unsurprisingly, the larger share of respondents preferred the first option of staying in proximity across all housing forms.

What would you do if you couldn't pay your rent anymore	Move within the surrounding neighborhood	Move into the periphery
Occupation by non-movement	29%	6%
Occupation by movement	46%	5%
Favela (Vila Nova Jaguaré)	43%	21%
Favela (Paraisópolis)	43%	10%
Gecekondu	26%	11%
"SROs"	29%	14%

Table 15: Survey results from São Paulo and Istanbul on moving in close proximity vs. periphery.

As previously discussed in this dissertation, moving to the urban periphery increases the risk for further social decline. The urban center offers greater access to infrastructure and employment, not to mention that relocating from the central areas where the interviewees and respondents currently live would reduce their geographical proximity to existing social networks and other non-purely economic types of capital. This is made dramatically clear through Havin's account. Havin [Istanbul, 1: 22-23], a transgender woman formerly from Tarlabaşı, explains the reverberations of displacement of the Trans* community out of Tarlabaşı.

> "*For example, some groups in this neighborhood, they had to live in this small area, because you can't live another neighborhood. That's why I live close to Taksim Square. I can't live in religious neighborhoods. Maybe 20 years ago, transgender people started living in this neighborhood. And, only because of this construction here [meaning T360], approximately more than 3,000 people had to leave their homes - 3,000 people, including us! After using up all legal routes, we brought the lawsuits to the European human rights court. But this is not successful. Even if you get money for compensation, you're losing your home. You are losing your living space. To lose a place is also coming with new traumas. You are having the trauma of losing your house. Because of that, the essential problem for those that are losing their house begins after they've lost their house. The problem begins when you move. When the people left Tarlabaşı and other neighborhoods because of those giant projects, the other districts automatically had an increase in rent. And, many other landowners ... for example, you see these streets in our neighborhood? All the buildings were owned by the same man. And, after the development began, the man tried everything he could to get us out because he will get twice as much rent from the ones moving in after us. For example, I was residing for 600 Lira, now the landlord is currently getting 1,800 for rent. Think about it: from 600 to 1,800 Lira!*"

Havin's account makes clear that in addition to the initial trauma of losing one's home, already marginalized groups face a dearth of alternative options within the urban center.

In Istanbul, the absence of vacant land in the urban center where a new community could be built meant that many of the Trans*people ended up facing physical, social and legal persecution in their new neighborhoods as a result of dispersion.

> "*When you first move in, the entire neighborhood is against you. For example, after leaving Tarlabaşı, I moved to Tepebaşı. After moving in to Tepebaşı, my house was...They raided my house. They left a note on my door. A note on my door about waiting for the chance to kill those people that spread immorality. They harassed guests who came to my house. Again, I filed a lawsuit regarding the note on my door. I took the note to the prosecutors, and I*

> *requested from the prosecutors to check for the camera images and to find the person who left the death threat on my door, but none of the prosecutors cared. They just took note of my complaint, and because of a lack of information, the file was closed. And, for one year, I went home with a gun. But now I have a conviction because of the gun. I have a two-year conviction from the courts. Authorities punished me for carrying a gun for self-protection. So, if I have another conviction, I have to go to jail for two years. The place where you move, you enter a new social fabric. You enter a new social fabric in the new place you are living. For example, in Tarlabaşı, when someone comes, and you yell, the whole neighborhood can come together, but there's no situation like that in the neighborhood we're living in now. I got accepted in that place with great difficulty, but there is still a wall between me and those that live in that neighborhood."* [Havin, Istanbul, 1: 26-27]

This second account, also from Havin, highlights how the constant displacement pressures can exacerbate lines of differentiation within the urban poor community. With little holding communities together, those with intersecting disadvantages (e.g., non-normative gender identities, single mothers, or religious minorities) can serve as scapegoats for communities and attract the negative attention of law enforcement just by trying to protect themselves. Despite these risks, moving out is a common economic strategy in both cities.

Considering this strategy within the larger framework of economic capital, it is necessary to look closer into the status of the dwellers in terms of whether they are renters or owners. Without trying to overgeneralize, I now briefly illustrate the differences in the situation for renters and owners by giving one example from São Paulo and one from Istanbul to underscore the two different settings, and with that also the argument about perceiving 'the' urban poor not as a homogenous group as argued in chapter two. Again, the processes and outcomes are not identical but are comparable to some extent.

<u>Caveat to moving out strategy: renters in São Paulo</u>

The decision and consequences of the housing exit strategy for renters in São Paulo can be best demonstrated through a most-different micro comparison using my interview data. That is, I compare two exemplary statements about this strategy from individual renters living in the same housing form but occupying very distinct social positions in terms of their socio-economic vulnerability. The first quote comes from Ronaldo, a married man with no children and the second is from Marcela, a single mother with two children. When asked what he would do if he and his wife were evicted, Ronaldo stated that he wouldn't mind too much moving away since he is flexible, given his current informal employment, when it comes to finding work:

> "*In this case, she and I, we have to move probably away from Pinheiros. It is very close to the center; therefore, the rent is very expensive, we will have to move a little outwards. We're going close to here, to Cohab Taipas. Or to the sides of the river, the rent is cheaper there, too. Although here's the advantage of working informally, I can do so probably also anywhere else.*" [Ronaldo, São Paulo, 1: 7-8]

Without children or formal employment, Ronaldo easily considers moving into the periphery because he knows that labor and housing there are likely to be sufficient for him.

By contrast, the Marcela considers other issues in her account due to her responsibilities as a mother. Although she described seeing multiple disadvantages to moving to the periphery, such as the lack of infrastructure, a missing social network for providing care for the children, issues with mobility, and drugs and crime, she feels moving out would demand relocating to far in the periphery.

> "*I am planning to rent another place. I will try to save some money to rent another place far from here. Because all the neighborhoods are very expensive, so I have to go far away from here. But there is the issue who is taking care of my child? Here there is a kindergarten close to where I work. But in a favela, there is only crime on the streets, and drugs everywhere. In a collective building like a cortiço in this neighborhood, a room is almost 700 or 800 Reais. For a tiny little room for me and my child in a cortiço! But renting an apartment where my child could have its own room is almost 2000 Reais. So, for once I have to move far away from here but then look I have to look very carefully into the environment at the new place, too.*" [Marcela, São Paulo, 1: 5-6]

In sum, the contrast between the two statements highlights the specific outcomes of moving away for different groups of renters based upon important co-factors, such as labor, family and safety concerns.

<u>Caveat to moving out strategy: owners in Istanbul</u>

For housing (shanty) owners in Istanbul the situation surrounding the strategy of moving out is different. Once they agree on a deal with city officials to leave their recognized gecekondu dwelling they can a) move into a new TOKİ condominium in one of the relocation sites[23] or b) move somewhere else, outside the TOKİ relocation policy. In both instances, many of the urban poor speculate that unlike

[23] The 'TOKİ-policy', as I call it, means a compensation for transferring your land title to a developer or the municipality without struggling. Basically, it is not a policy though since the reward is a matter of individual negotiation between the municipality and each owner, as I learned during the two community meetings of the Gaziosmanpaşa Housing Council from different dwellers who have been through the process. The compensation usually includes a price-reduced offer to buy one or several of the condominiums in one of the new-build TOKİ high-rises. Depending on the geographic locality of the new build homes the prices vary between center and periphery.

their current, precarious housing their future property can increase in value by turning a questionable asset (squatted property that could be evicted due to at-risk upgrades) into an opportunity for state-supported relocation. For many, then, the idea of living in the gecekondu in the first place is to be relocated to one of the new-built TOKİ complexes in order to create a longer-term asset. With their new property, the owners try to stay put within the new TOKİ neighborhood and either wait for the surrounding infrastructure to drive up the property's value to sell or themselves invest in the neighborhood as a long-term residence. The development of infrastructure – public transportation, schools, hospitals, and so on – can take several years and there is no guarantee that all of these infrastructural goods will be developed. Therefore, profiting from resale and habitability are waiting games for many of the urban poor

Fatma and Osman [Istanbul, 1:31-32] describe the lottery-like experience of attempting to read the housing sub-market to make a profit.

> "*Of course, there are some that lost money. There are also some that profited. In other words, we can't really know exactly. The first time we came, this place was being sold for 30 thousand. 30 thousand in the money at that time! There were some that sold for 30 thousand. There were some that sold for 20 thousand. There were some that sold for 50 thousand. At this moment this place value is 220-230 thousand.*"

The idea of urban poor leveraging gentrification and other urban transformations as an adaptation mechanism to climb out of poverty is clear. Their success rate at doing so is less clear.

Moreover, in the majority of cases, staying put is not possible. As a result, a second stage of displacement pressures builds. This second stage of threat is rooted in increasing financial pressures within the newly built TOKİ, which relate to the high interest rates for the mortgages and the high fees for maintenance and utilities.

> "*I wonder how these people will pay the loans for a TOKİ apartment? They can't! They will either die in debt or they will give back their place and leave. They will put up a tent or they will take their wife and live in the parks*." [Şadi, Istanbul, 1: 3]

Many relocated to the TOKİ complexes have to leave after a few years due to the economic capital demands of this forms of housing sub-market (see for that also: Cevik [2013]). The subsequent third stage that follows on the heels of relocation of the urban poor from gecekondu to TOKİ is their scattering within the metro region of Istanbul, their further disconnection from stable housing and community, and their becoming "invisible." Crucially, whether they are urban poor living in São Paulo or in Istanbul, the loss via displacement must be understood in terms of the loss of an economic asset.

To be more precise, the loss of ownership is the loss of an economic asset – the loss of wealth – for the current as well as for the following generation.

To conclude, decisions about occupying particular housing forms and the ways the urban poor deal with displacement pressure within my research are often influenced by considerations about gathering or deploying economic capital. In some instances, the most precarious housing forms in terms of security of tenure, such as the cortiços and often the single room occupancy, are not necessarily chosen by the urban poor because they lack *any* other place to go. Instead, the selection of housing forms is often approached as an economic strategy designed to increase the chances for socio-economic progress. As a basic human need, housing form selection is interlocked with survival and betterment strategies. Further, the economic strategies demonstrated here show the creative potential of the urban poor to deploy and transform what little economic capital they have in order to secure tenure.

5.2.2 Social capital and social strategies

Social capital is a widely applied but rarely precise concept for analyzing and understanding social dynamics. It provokes vivid discussions not only in social scientific domains, but also in the domains of policy formulation and political activism. Among academics, Putnam [2000], Bourdieu and Wacquant [1992: 119], Coleman [1994: 302], and Blokland and Savage [2008] have advanced discourse about the nature and the application of social capital in diverse settings. Given its wide-ranging application, it is not possible to identify a single theory or concept of social capital. Rather, various scholars, primarily those just named, highlight the varieties of social capital that exist. However, in order to follow a more concrete line of argumentation, I mainly apply Bourdieu's theory combined with important clarifications offered by Blokland and Savage [2008].

In Bourdieu's [1986: 21] terms, social capital

> *"[…] is the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition – or in other words, to membership in a group – which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectivity-owned capital, a 'credential' which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word*."

This conceptualization indicates that social capital is buttressed by social memberships based on relations among members. Bourdieu [1986: 21] explains how these relationships overlap with the material world and with economic forms of capital but are not solely about one's economic position.

> "*These relationships may exist only in the practical state, in material and/or symbolic exchanges which help to maintain them. They may also be socially instituted and guaranteed by the application of a common name (the name of a family, a class, or a tribe or of a school, a party, etc.) and by a whole set of instituting acts designed simultaneously to form and inform those who undergo them; in this case, they are more or less really enacted and so maintained and reinforced, in exchanges. Being based on indissolubly material and symbolic exchanges, the establishment and maintenance of which presuppose reacknowledgment of proximity, they are also partially irreducible to objective relations of proximity in physical (geographical) space or even in economic and social space."*

With these relations in mind, it is important to note that to Bourdieu, the "emancipatory" character of social capital (e.g. poverty reduction policies aiming to increase social capital of the poor) is not intentional. Instead:

> *"[T]o [Bourdieu], social capital is a tool in the hands of the powerful, reproducing social inequality and ensuring the distance between social groups. In this sense, although social capital is acquired through different processes than economic or cultural forms of capital, it continues to be strongly linked to them, as it serves to perpetuate and legitimize the same structural gaps."* [Ivana, 2016: 54]

That means that the adaptive practices of the poor will not allow them to reach the social capital of the nonpoor because the latter adapt as well in order to maintain their privileged position. Put differently, the concept of social capital serves as an explanatory model for the prevalence and durability of inequalities. In these terms, a strong connection to Tilly's theory becomes visible. Without rehearsing the detailed discourse about social capital, which is not focus of this discussion, I want to outline a few underlying points of Bourdieu's social capital concept that are most important for the analysis of my research findings.

For one, simply knowing someone in a social network does not equate with having access to that particular social network and its resources. What Bourdieu critically emphasizes is the dual nature of social capital; that is, the quantity and the quality of the social network. This means that the amount of people in a network as well as the quality of those connections impacts the social capital of the group members. Both the *network structure* and *the natures of relationships* within a given network are crucial for any form of social capital.

Second, the type of resource in question also influences social capital. A social network can provide access to particular resources, including information about a job opening or a housing option. It does not automatically guarantee the utilization of that resource. Instead, social capital can enable

people to mobilize the resources embedded in a social network and might facilitate action on those terms. For example, a close friend of mine knows someone looking to rent a room and, knowing I am seeking housing, tells the person that they should rent the room to me and I can be trusted to be a good tenant, so the friend offers me the room at a lower price than s/he would a stranger given our mutual friend and their relationship of trust. Relatedly, then, and like other types of capital, social capital can be transferred or transformed into economic capital. However, as explained above, such conversions include further dynamics and restrictions in terms of the 'exchange rate'– or 'certain conditions, according to Bourdieu [1986]– between different forms of capital, such as for example the time requirements for acquiring a high-quality network.

Third, social capital has a dual nature along another axis (e.g., in addition to its quantity and quality): while it can be seen as uniting force between some individuals, it is simultaneously a dividing force between others. As Blokland and Savage [2008: 12] remind us, citing Cohen [1985]: "boundaries are drawn through dis-identifying with other locales (Cohen 1985)". As Blokland and Savage [2008: 12] further elaborate:

> "*To this extent, the ties of social capital simultaneously create boundaries which distinguish 'others'. 'Insiders' and 'outsiders' are mutually constituted in the same process. If this point is granted, then we need to understand social capital as implicated in processes of boundary maintenance and division, which are simultaneously social and spatial formations*."

Thus, while social capital ties create and reinforce a vision of "us," they also invoke the creation of a "them." Clearly, these authors highlight the importance of the spatial character of social capital as well.

Blokland and Savage [2008: 12], therefore, point to a fourth dimension of social capital: its spatial geography. More specifically, they include dynamics of socio-spatial segregation into considerations of social capital:

> "*Segregation, in residence, as well as in appropriation of other sites, is an organization of space that both results from social capital, and […] that affects further capital formation precisely because spatial arrangements can affect network formations. For instance, space can be appropriated and given specific meanings, as when gentrifiers appropriate a park in a neighbourhood through setting the standards of what is and what is not acceptable (their drinking white wine at a neighbourhood picnic is, while the beer wrapped in a brown bag of a homeless man is not). Social capital used here in very different ways. […] Without attention to such processes of place making and the practices of in- and exclusion and social capital formation they relate to, social network theories of social capital are unable to address the question of how precisely social capital does its work on the ground, in everyday life situations*

> *– and yet such a question is crucial for understanding especially the unequal distributions of social capital.*"

As this quote shows, the relationship between social capital and space is dialectical. Put simply, social capital structures space just as spatial organization structures social capital. Following this line of reasoning, social capital influences socio-spatial segregation patterns and influences inequalities as a result.

Blokland and Savage [2008] offer important corrections to traditional interpretation of Bourdieusian social capital theories with their empirical insights – ones that support the previous points on social capital. Namely, close proximity does not necessarily create intensified social capital or trust in neighborhoods. They find, in fact, that

> *"[…] public familiarity, or knowing about others in one's neighbourhood or town by sharing the same space for daily routines, is not the same as and will not necessarily result in communities rich in social capital, as such familiarity is a context for but not the content of interactions and social relationships*" [Blokland and Savage, 2008: 11].

Instead, and as touched upon earlier in Havin's account of the displacement experiences of the *trans community in São Paulo,

> "*public familiarity […] can be just as much a context for exclusion and division among residents, through negative gossip and other mechanisms, as a context for community, trust and the like […]*". [Blokland and Savage, 2008: 11]

They pointedly conclude "mechanisms such as gossip, that presuppose at least public familiarity, may even be detrimental to the development of social capital" [Blokland and Savage, 2008: 11]. In sum, social capital is not simply familiarity, or a single access point to a social network, or quantity, or basic density and proxemics, or a positive, additive type of capital. What matters is the 'content of interactions' and their spatial dynamics through which social capital can be gathered and strategically deployed.

With these four dimensions of social capital in mind, I turn now to examples of social strategies (anchored in social capital dynamics) applied by the urban poor in which to secure their housing condition or to improve it. I focus on two groups of social strategies: a) self-help network strategies and b) political activism strategies.

a) Self-help network strategies

Several practices used by the urban poor in the face of housing displacement pressures can be considered collective or social self-help strategies. Self-help networks utilize social capital in various

ways, such as providing access to different types of capital, a social system of social security, idea exchange, and reinforcing in-group cultural practices, to name a few. The degree and character of network institutionalization varies – the normativity of the 'content of interactions' – and I therefore parse these strategies accordingly.

The majority of self-help networks I found in my research are aligned to the attributed or achieved social categories of network members. These categories include ethnicities (as is the case with the Armenian church or the Kurdish community in Tarlabaşı), gender and social class (as the FLM site shows), tenure of residency (as seen in the gecekondus and cortiço), as well as geographic proximity. These categories are not mutually exclusive, as the previous discussion underlines. For example, in Gaziosmanpaşa Roma families live in one particular area of Sarigöl and have created, according to my interviews, close networks of self-help, including social niches within the neighborhood. Members of the Kurdish community in Tarlabaşı shared similar accounts. And before being displaced from Tarlabaşı, the Transgender community relied on close ties of mutual self-help, too.

Drawing on the latter example, Havin [Istanbul, 1: 16] became very upset while explaining the local support she found in Tarlabaşı's *trans community before her displacement:

> "*In Tarlabaşı, when you get sick, when someone gets sick in Tarlabaşı, because we were so many of us, there will be definitely someone that would help me. Now, if I get sick, I cry, because all my friends are far away. Everyone lives in far off places, and I am stuck alone. That was something really good about Tarlabaşı. But, here, you are left alone. When you're sick, you're left alone because there's no one that is able to look after you. Because of that, you're in the end losing your family along with the neighborhood where you were living*."

It can also be assumed that self-help networks exist among the huge number of refugees living in Tarlabaşı, yet they could not be identified due to the difficult access to that population. To be sure, I received similar reports from the dwellers of the Gecekondus in Gaziosmanpaşa and those of the favelas and occupations in São Paulo where I was able to access the populations.

In terms of scale and network institutionalization, the Armenian foundation can be categorized as a more citywide, formal self-help network with an emphasis on the Tarlabaşı neighborhood. This is evident in the number of buildings the Armenian foundation owns [see for this: Polatel et al., 2012 in chapter four] and the affordable housing they offer to Armenians. Despite access difficulties for people not belonging to particular networks of social capital (e.g., for reasons of ethnicity or security), some interviewees stated that they gained access to seemingly exclusive networks through other networks, such as extended family. When looking more closely at self-help networks, two dynamics can be seen

that mirror the previously literature discussed: being included into exclusive networks can offer huge returns in terms of accumulated know-how and other social capital resources gathered or shared by the members. At the same time, however, they can create social envy and exclusion because non-members perceive them as closed shops.

An example from São Paulo illustrates the aspect of self-help network strategies for positive social capital accumulation. When asked about her social ties within the building, Damiana, a member of FLM, observed the beneficial kinship quality of the network therein: "So here in this building we are a family, as if we were all of the same blood; it is a union: if one has a difficulty, they are all going to help, but with helping one, they helped the entire world" [Damiana, São Paulo, 1: 7]. Suzan [Istanbul, 2: 18] in Istanbul described the self-help network of the Armenian foundation in a similar way:

> "*One day we had absolutely no money left, no money at all. We ended up having a debt with the electronic company of five or six thousand lira. With the penalties, it was seven thousand. We gave the information to the church [the Armenian foundation] because we didn't know what to do. We attended their meeting again. Afterwards, the church laid its hands on it and paid off our debt. The church is very helpful*."

However, these networks have varying degrees or thresholds when it comes to gaining entrance.

As not everyone is welcomed to these networks, the excluded can feel disempowered by them. Yksel's [Istanbul, 1: 4] experience with the Armenian foundation points to this downside:

> "*Now, they [the Armenian foundation] are discriminating. Now, if you go to them they won't give you anything. They only give to their own people. They are helping the children of their own. They are helping the poor of their own. I once was living in an apartment and that place was connected to the church. Because I didn't pay rent, they kicked me out at some point although I had built two stories of it. I had paid for it myself. But it entered into someone's mind that we hadn't paid rent. […] Now, you know those people that are coming from the east, they became Muslims later, they were initially Armenians. They became Muslims. Now, when they came here, when they came to Istanbul, they became Armenian again in order to have access to their help*."

The housing movement FLM in São Paulo, so lovingly described in Damiana's statement above, also has strict entry rules according to the buildings coordinator Patricia [São Paulo, 2: 12]:

> "*We have many rules within the occupation. We do so to avoid problems, for our families. Families from the street we say, when they come directly from the streets, they do not absorb*

rules, they do not mind a movement. They do so as they have an urgent need of getting off of the street. But that is the reason why we can't let them in, you understand?"

These examples show that in order to accumulate social capital self-help networks provide their members with particular privileges and opportunities. But the same networks can also "be detrimental to the development of social capital" among the larger segments of the urban poor in a community [Blokland and Savage, 2008: 11]. Self-help network strategies are used to find affordable housing even when all other odds are against finding it, but they also reveal negative cases. That is, for the excluded, they can recreate inequalities insofar as they limit access and reinforce social-categorical forms of inequality. This type of social capital strategy helps to explain finding affordable housing and maintaining it, but another strategy was also touched on: political activism as a collective, sometimes network strategy for finding and securing accommodation.

b) Political activism strategies

Political strategies to cope with displacement are implemented differently between the two cities and their different political, socio-cultural, and economic local environments. As discussed in chapter four, São Paulo's history is rich with a vast diversity of housing movements stemming from collective efforts of the urban poor to politically organize [e.g. Holsten, 2009]. In contrast to São Paulo's surviving housing movement mobilization, Istanbul is marked by the absence of housing movement activism. I hypothesize that Istanbul's particularly oppressive political environment in comparison to São Paulo has limited the possibilities for broad-scale, formal organization efforts and even more informal squatting. This was certainly the most common argument leveled by activists from smaller organizations, such as the Housing Council in Gaziosmanpaşa or the Squater Collective Istanbul, in our interviews. Nevertheless, in order to systematically approach political activism as social capital based strategies, I identify two different strategic forms in each city. In Istanbul the primary strategy is small-scale advising and organizing. In São Paulo, the primary strategy is "squatting" or occupation.

Turkey's overall political environment, which includes dramatic reductions in rule of law, increasing oppression and harassment from Turkish state and city officials, and collective actions against these forces that much of the world indirectly witnessed during the 2013 Ghezi protests and the more recent, supposed coup d'état, is one of heightened instability. Many activists I met during my field research are trying to inform and organize local populations about larger processes of urban restructuring and their subsequent displacement risks. One of my activist interviewees underscored the importance of linking various macrolevel processes to lived experiences and, by doing so, seeing social capital exchange as political capital exchange:

> "*Of course, information exchange is super important. Of course, you have to organize a come together because with coming together you can see the panorama in a different way, you can see and show people that what happens in certain places is actually part of the big plan about the whole transformation. And also, the idea is that people are getting to know each other when we exchange, make the knowledge common, make them aware all of them can be part of it and go for the bigger project."* [Cihan G., Istanbul, 2: 13]

Additionally, many of the urban poor stated in interviews that through organizing they aim to magnify the scope of resistance and create bonds of solidarity between different neighborhoods as well as different social groups. In other words, political organizing is a way of accumulating positive, inclusionary social capital by increasing the quantity and quality of social networks. However, the particular ethnic diversity as noticed in the questionnaire in Istanbul (Table 16) may influence these practices and ambitions. Without overstressing, different ethnic groups can have different political agendas and alternative goals when struggling with authorities as well as hold different position within Turkish society.

Ethnicity	**SRO**	**Gecekondu**
Turk	17%	72%
Kurd	72%	18%
Roma	5%	9%
Armenian	5%	0%
Other	1%	1%

Table 16: Survey results from Istanbul on ethnic diversity among the urban poor at research sites in Istanbul.

Of course, every social group has inter-group and intra-group differences but in many instances, and as argued above, such differences are what provide group identification or boundaries for the group. Recognizing this obstacle, many urban poor perceive informing and networking as the least common denominator that can cut across group differences and social category distinctions:

> "*This is a result of our different cultural foundations. The desires are different! Because since the demands are different, there is no possibility of uniting! But, as a single voice nothing will happen! But if we can gather, then, when we make our voices heard, the repercussions will be more successful! Because of this reason, with regard to people acting as a community, associations, social activity places, have started a dialogue with people under one roof... We need to find the possibility to meet all together under one roof!*" [Hanife, Istanbul: 3: 18]

Such accounts suggest that the complex intergroup dynamics in the sub housing-markets in Istanbul have made "advising and organizing" the most important local strategy for seeking social change, including addressing housing problems.

Several smaller and larger attempts at organizing for sustainable housing have been informed by this strategic logic of political activism for social rights as a way to break down barriers among the urban poor. This was evidenced in interviews with housing activists in Istanbul, including those from the "Squater collective Istanbul", the "Gaziosmanpaşa Housing Council", and the "Istanbul City Defense" organization. The question that remains is how long these forms of organization can sustain themselves. The examples of Islam and Sakizlioglu [2015] and the narratives from the former members of the "Tarlabaşı Solidarity Organization for Property Owners and Tenants" suggest that many local organizations vanish once the cause fails and the people are displaced. Plus, given the financial and time-restraints of urban poor, without sustained geographical proximity for organizing the possibilities for re-organizing are severely limited.

In contrast to Istanbul, one of the probably most prominent forms of political organizing in São Paulo is constituted by already existing housing movement groups and the more specific strategy of occupation. While the majority of housing movement groups have a political agenda towards greater equity, there are movement groups directed at providing exploitative housing to the urban poor:

> "*I would say, those new occupied buildings emerging, those occupations became a commercial machine for many movements and this is extremely dangerous because it puts all the movements in the same place, as if all of us would make profit out of it. It's something that needs to be very clear, since suddenly, even as we see it in the newspapers, movements becoming criminalized in a certain way, and that is as an economic machine.*" [Patricia, São Paulo, 2: 6]

The potential parasitism of movement groups depends on the movement. While focusing on housing provision and sustainability, additional political aims are often included, such as increasing the visibility of the poor, exercising 'the right to the city', and so on. In terms of the social agenda, the housing movement groups that are not the "economic machines" described above by Patricia, may aim to establish a sense of community among their members, to increase social cohesion, and to provide the individuals with a new social network given the ones members may have lost due to displacement, migration or other forces.

The overall goal of squatting, as several squaters in occupied buildings described it to me, is to occupy existing urban housing (e.g., urban homesteading) in a way that will prevent eviction. In many instances, the occupants spoke using a "right to the city" perspective and stressed the "social function

of a building[24]." As a template for political activism toward housing, the urban poor involved in occupations try to improve the environment's living function or upgrade the abandoned building they live in, not only to make the space more habitable, but also to show city officials and the public that they are caring for the building and the community in ways that the owner or city officials did not or are not willing to do. To further prove to authorities that the dwellers are interested in a long-term, legal housing solution, many building coordinators put the utilities in their own name. Multiple interviewees reported that coordinators put utilities, such as water, in his or her name as a means of proving the duration of occupation as well as that they are not just careless building invaders – that they are interested in becoming formalized. Such organization, performative or not, can accrue social, as well as economic and cultural capital, for the inhabitants.

The examples in this discussion underscore how political activism strategies (both the informing and organizing efforts in Istanbul and the squatting efforts in São Paulo) are ways of gathering and utilizing social capital to counter displacement. Although social strategies can take a huge variety of forms (not only self-help and political activism), use different methods, and target different populations, they appear to provide crucial support for getting by and for getting ahead. Notably, their strengths come with weaknesses, such as the social exclusion seen in self-help networks and the vulnerability to displacement seen in political activism. As some of the examples show, these strategies are anchored in spatially-organized social capital networks that are very difficult to re-establish once displaced.

5.2.3 Cultural capital and cultural strategies

Cultural capital is another crucial type of capital necessary to understand the strategies the urban poor apply to cope with displacement. To define cultural capital for the purposes of this study, I primarily follow Bourdieu's conceptualization as advanced though the more recent work of Small, Lamont and Harding [2010]. These scholars draw on Bourdieu's original conceptualization to re-frame or clarify the meaning and empirical application of cultural capital. According to Small, Lamont and Harding [2010: 12]:

> "*The term cultural capital has been used in many ways, sometimes to mean knowledge or information acquired through social experience and sometimes—in its more original formulation—as styles or tastes associated with upper class membership. Such styles and tastes are often unconsciously expressed and observed. […] The concept of cultural capital*

[24] "The 'social function' of land "concept serves as an expression of the limit to private property rights by guaranteeing private property as long as it accomplishes its social function, but that notion can be left open to interpretation." [Oyebanji, 2010: 126]

> *contributes to our understanding of poverty and inequality by helping to explain how middle and upper-class parents are able to pass on advantages to their children by familiarizing them with habits and behavioral styles valued by the educational system."*

This quote points to two key aspects. The first is the meaning of cultural capital as symbolic practices of style or taste. One might think of it as cultural socialization via habits and styles that serves as a resource. The second is that the concept has been adapted because the original work by Bourdieu and Passeron's [1977] on cultural capital intended to explain the French education system and its role in reproducing inequalities between middle class and working-class families by privileging the normative practices or styles of behavior of the middle class that are already taught to middle class children in the "hidden" domestic sphere. That is, more recent scholars call for the need to examine cultural capital outside of this particular institutional system to better understand it.

However, Bourdieu's [1986: 17] core conceptualization clearly links cultural capital to more general inequalities than those within education alone:

> "*Cultural capital can exist in three forms: in the embodied state, i.e., in the form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body; in the objectified state, in the form of cultural goods (pictures, books, dictionaries, instruments, machines, etc.), which are the trace or realization of theories or critiques of these theories, problematics, etc.; and in the institutionalized state, a form of objectification which must be set apart because, as will be seen in the case of educational qualifications, it confers entirely original properties on the cultural capital which it is presumed to guarantee*."

Reflecting on his account and this dissertation research, I argue that cultural capital in the embodied state is the most important form for housing inequalities. To be sure, cultural capital as cultural objects (e.g. clothes with a particular brand, communication technologies, or other forms of material amenities), are also important. Such objects can, in situations of sudden financial hardships for instance, be converted into economic capital through their resale. Similarly, cultural capital in the institutionalized state, such as educational credentials, is as also relevant to the social mobility of the urban poor. Nonetheless, the embodied state of lasting dispositions is most crucial to the research question and the form of cultural capital less captured by the other types of strategies discussed thus far in terms of economic and social capital.

To make this point even clearer, in the urban poor's quest to avoid displacement, I argue that while institutionalized cultural capital can impact housing markets and strategies in the long run (e.g. when the next generation received proper schooling so that they can have better job options and with that more economic capital for rent or owning), embodied cultural capital speaks more directly to

current or immediate strategies for staying put. Moreover, cultural capital in the objectified state is akin to asset accumulation and relevant to familiar differences within neighborhoods (e.g., wine in the park versus a brown-bagged beer or expensive clothing brands versus non-name brands), but the economic strategy of asset accumulation partially captures the former and the elements of social capital reflected in social self-help networks and political activism partially captures the latter. In short, embodied cultural capital can best account for the cultural processes of countering displacement pressure the urban poor deploy. Bourdieu [1986: 17-18] himself argues that this form is fundamental to accessing cultural capital:

> "*Most of the properties of cultural capital can be deduced from the fact that, in its fundamental state, it is linked to the body and presupposes embodiment. The accumulation of cultural capital in the embodied state, i.e., in the form of what is called culture, cultivation, Bildung, presupposes a process of embodiment, incorporation, which, insofar as it implies a labor of inculcation and assimilation, costs time, time which must be invested personally by the investor. Like the acquisition of a muscular physique or a suntan, it cannot be done at second hand (so that all effects of delegation are ruled out).*"

Understanding embodied cultural capital means recognizing that knowledge about how things work in a society, what kind of rules, norms and values exist, is acquired over time and depends on the social context in which an individual is raised. Carter [2003: 138] builds on this recognition by adding a crucial distinction between different cultural environments and their values and norms as differentiating the social classes from one another:

> "*The term "dominant cultural capital" corresponds to Bourdieu's conceptualization of powerful, high status cultural attributes, codes, and signals. Cultural capital provides individuals with an ability to "walk the walk" and "talk the talk" of the cultural power brokers in our society. Similarly, "non-dominant cultural capital" embodies a set of tastes, or schemes of appreciation and understandings, accorded to a lower status group, that include preferences for particular linguistic, musical, or interactional styles. Non-dominant cultural capital describes those resources used by lower status individuals to gain "authentic" cultural status positions within their respective communities. Different, though interconnected, these two forms of capital represent variable cultural currencies, the benefits of which vary, depending upon the field in which the capital is used. For example, in one setting, youth might employ dominant cultural capital instrumentally to gain academic and socioeconomic mobility. In another setting, they might utilize their non-dominant cultural capital to express in-group affiliation. […] However, it is conceivable that dominant cultural capital may be used for*

> *expressive purposes and non-dominant cultural capital may be used for instrumental purposes."*

Lareau [2003], arguing in a somewhat similar vein, concludes that the child-rearing strategies of middle class parents tend to focus on structuring their children's time and teaching them to question authority in ways that coincide with getting institutions to work for them, which she refers to a as a strategy of "concerted cultivation." In contrast, poor or working-class parents' child-rearing strategies tend to focus less structured free time, less questioning of authority, and social interactions, which she calls the strategy of "natural growth," that can undermine the children's ability to get institutions to work for them.

These accounts of embodied cultural capital as situational-strategic and distinguishable into dominant and non-dominant lay the groundwork for the notion of 'street smarts'. Being 'street smart' constitutes a form of non-dominant cultural capital that is learned or acquired outside formal institutions. In applying Bourdieu's concepts to housing contexts instead of formal schooling, the survival strategies of the urban poor are an important from of cultural capital. Next to others, it means that knowing your way around, knowing what rights you have, or how to approach people – members of your neighborhood, housing form, or social networks as well as city officials or powerholders – can be understood as such a form of capital. When asked about the importance of 'walking the walk' and 'talking the talk' in an interview, Şadi in Istanbul [1: 6] vigorously emphasized what this means for him:

> "*What many poor lack most is the lack of knowledge! Many are not knowing their rights, like where to apply to for services or reach out to for legal advise. Because they are saying you never grew up in this manner anyways. Your government has not enlightened you on this subject. You are becoming a slave to it. When you are a slave what do you do? You are miserable. Every house here is like this, like you, like us. Every house here is like us*."

Given the numbers of urban poor originally from other locales and given their routine displacement experiences, knowing how to approach and talk with someone, knowing what cues to follow, and knowing your legal rights (e.g., social policies which might provide resources in terms of economic capital) is no small feat. Being aware of the somehow blurry lines again, I broadly treat such knowhow as non-dominant, embodied cultural capital. In the follow sections, I present two dominant examples of cultural strategies applied by the urban poor in response to housing displacement: a) "agreement seeking" strategies and b) strategies for "using the legislative system."

a) Agreement-seeking strategies

In order to avoid eviction, I found many instances of individuals attempting to negotiate with or seek an agreement with landlords or developers. Notably, members of FLM in São Paulo described occupations as among the last options selected choose if negotiations were unsuccessful.

> "[*S]ometimes one thinks that identifying a squat, entering and occupying it is easy and always our first step. But within the front of fighting for housing, an occupation is the last resort. When we have negotiated everything with the government or landlord, and the government or landlord is just doing nothing, then we might decide to occupy an abandoned building.*" [Maria, São Paulo, 1: 9]

Despite the more common housing form of occupation in São Paulo than Istanbul, the knowhow of FLM organizers suggest that occupation is not the first smart step to take in countering housing insecurity. However, finding a mutual solution is not easy to achieve.

In several interviews, Arlete, the building coordinator from one of São Paulo's squats , identified numerous issues surrounding negotiating with city officials and the court. While struggling to formalize the building, she encountered overwhelming restrictions, barriers, and processes of corruption, which, in the end, put the entire occupation on the path of eviction. In another case in São Paulo, Patricia faced similar issues navigating legal systems and procedures, but eventually arrived at an informal agreement with the owners and city officials. In the Tarlabaşı neighborhood of Istanbul, the "Tarlabaşı Solidarity Organization for Property Owners and Tenants" tried to negotiate with city officials and the developer of T360. Although these negotiations involved a professional mediator, whom I interviewed, they too could not agree on a compromise. This left the movement collective with no other choice but to file a lawsuit.

These examples show the cultural skills and knowledge required to deploy agreement seeking strategies. A key requirement for successfully negotiating in these cases is the ability to navigate policies and bureaucratic institutions. Another requirement is appropriately assessing the situation to identify the right moments for making demands or complying. In other words, and as Maria [São Paulo, 1: 2] described for the FLM housing movement, the selection of tactics – the means chosen to achieve a certain end – is complex, based on previous experience and foresight:

> "*So, this building here, when we came in, it had a sign on the door here that it got previously evicted and does now officially belong to the municipality. Therefore, the building was already closed when we came here two or three years ago. Next to that, the movement decided to use the political circumstances of that time, with a PT government and so, to do something big. In the end, we decided to occupy several buildings at the same time, hoping police forces would be distracted. Then we risked it one night, and we occupied. We are still here. And today, after*

> *the signing of the Master Plan, and with the change of government, the mayor, this is a building that will make it into the project Minha Casa, Minha Vida. We hope that 170 families will be going to return here after formalization and renovation. The other 150 families have to leave but can then come back to another building close to this one probably, depending on the negotiations*."

The availability of this strategy and how it is carried out depends on the form of displacement, the reasons for it, and the stakeholders involved. If, for example, a tenant experiences a landlord-imposed rent increase because of an increasing rent gap, personal negotiations are more feasible than when a transnational developer is involved.

Beyond knowledge about unfolding legal circumstances, bureaucratic processes, and the scale of negotiations that must be undertaken, other forces, such as trust between parties and the ability of parties to coordinate among their own stakeholders also influence the use of this strategy. Single renters, in general, have few options and little power to successfully negotiate with landowners. As a result, they can rarely manage to prevent dramatic rent increases or physical eviction. Owners tend to have more options available given their legal title and economic capital. In addition to the divide between owners and renters among the urban poor, which can undermine their ability to coordinate agreement-seeking strategies with larger powerholders, many urban poor expressed feeling other internal lines of competition in the face of insecurity. Most prominent in these interview descriptions was the idea that "what my neighbor gets I want too;" that is, an individualistic approach to agreement seeking based on neighbors as the reference group.

> "*My advice, I would accept whatever it was that they initially offered, under current conditions. There is no possibility of a better way! Because why? Everyone is thinking about their own benefits. They are thinking individually. While I want one flat or in that building two flats, another wants five flats. People and the municipality do things individually. But, they can't do this thing for generations... It will certainly give birth to great loss in the future! Then in the future, the people are left by themselves, having sold out their neighbors*" [Yksel, Istanbul, 1: 13]

It seems like he is saying you can't really negotiate with the landlords because every renter is self-interested as this quote illustrates, the success of agreement-seeking strategies.is impacted by some sort of self-interested behavior which lowers everyone's ability to negotiate. In sum, this strategy can be a sort of race to the bottom in terms of lowering the standards that poor individuals will accept in negotiating to secure housing.

Although agreement seeking is a universal strategy, it is perceived quite differently between the two cities. In São Paulo, many urban poor renters reported negative experiences with landlords when using this strategy, such as harassment, physical threats, and forced evictions. In these interviews, most labeled landlords as "greedy" and "uninterested in the personal matters of their renters." In contrast to São Paulo, the majority of interview partners in Istanbul referred to agreement seeking as rooted in a basic understanding of trust between the different parties and a mutual interest in finding solutions via negotiation.

Legal constraints heavily influence the different power relations during negotiation processes. The history of land amnesty legislation in Istanbul for the case of gecekondus speaks to this influence. The individuals who received a proper land title have more options for negotiation compared to those with only a partial land title. Of note for Istanbul, and according to several reports within a community meeting from the Gaziosmanpaşa Housing Council I attended, in many instances where the urban poor reached an actual agreement with the municipality, the municipality did not sign the contracts and therefore invalidated them. One man who had signed a contract for compensation, raised his voice while conveying this experience to the group:

> "*They [the municipality] are directing everyone. Come to us, let's find a solution and come to agreement. After that nothing happens. This is particularly important... I have also lived through the same thing. I mean, pardon me, I don't want to speak so informally, but if they give you an amulet don't be deceived. Please. I lived through the same thing: I signed, and I never received anything.*" [male participant A in Gaziosmanpaşa Housing Council meeting 2: 4]

Thus, although negotiation is seen as about mutual interests, trust in officials may be misplaced.

Reports and observations suggest that powerholders have their own strategies for undermining the ability of the urban poor to succeed in agreement-seeking strategies. Another man at the meeting warned of municipal officials using fear as a tactic in negotiations:

> "*Don't sign the contract just because there's a municipality in front of you. Plus, there is also the tactic of fear that the municipality is doing against you. And according to this fear tactic...if you are fooled by the bluff, no, if you are deceived by the bluff, you sign, and end up having nothing but empty promises."* [male participant B in Gaziosmanpaşa Housing Council meeting 2: 6]

The notion of deception was brought up in the council meetings as well as by interviewees in Gaziosmanpaşa that were not a part of the Gaziosmanpaşa Housing Council. These people painted a similar picture of routine deception on the part of municipal representatives:

> "*In other words, they [the municipality] are brokering. They go to the neighbor, they try to persuade them. We're going to live in big housing developments. We're going to live in housing developments with pools. They're deceiving.*" [Mecid, Istanbul, 1: 3]

Whereas the São Paulo urban poor are often met with the hard power of forced eviction and physical threat when they deploy agreement-seeking strategies, the legal system in Istanbul has generated a situation in which the urban poor face soft power coercion in response to their strategies. These dynamics shape how both sets of poor city dwellers deploy this type of cultural strategy. Either way, the narratives of this research indicate that the chances for staying put based upon strategies of finding an agreement using non-dominant cultural capital are not very high. Although overlapping, many urban poor alternatively apply strategies for using the legislative framework.

b) Strategies for using the legislative framework

My research suggests that many urban poor perceive using the legislative framework as a more successful strategy than other approaches, such as finding an agreement. Considering the practices and strategies mentioned so far, many of the urban poor told me they select a legal path to respond to displacement pressure. These legal strategies include, claiming advantages from particular policies or filing lawsuits against at-risk zoning or other zoning decisions, redevelopment plans, and eviction orders. Interestingly, the way the urban poor strategically use the legislative framework differs between the two cities. The majority of urban poor in São Paulo do so by applying policies in order to claim resources according to specific and local policies. Most of the urban poor in Istanbul, by contrast, use the legal system for filing lawsuits. This is not to say that the urban poor in São Paulo don't file lawsuits or that the urban poor in Istanbul never apply policies in their favor. Rather, I explore this notable difference to explain how the legislative framework of each city has generated distinct lines for the urban poor to utilize cultural capital as a means to respond to housing displacement pressures.

In São Paulo, there are several policies in place aiming to reduce the economic, physical, and social impacts of displacement and other forms of hardship for the urban poor (e.g. "Minha Casa Minha Vida" or Bolsa Familia). Knowledge about the different policies, about ways of applying for their support, and so on, represent forms of embodied cultural capital. Such policies, as a tool of the state to deal with a broad and heterogeneous sub-group of citizens, only fit specific circumstances. They criteria based, not universally applied to all citizens. This means that minor variations from the categories embedded in the policies can lead to exclusion from the policy. In short, the policies frame the acceptable lines of economic, social, and cultural capital, and the strategies for using social policies reflect these distinctions.

As policies generalize and frame issues to suite specific circumstances, they do not always reflect the life-worlds of the urban poor. As Scott [1999: 11ff] illustrates with the parable of "The State and Scientific Forestry": "the state can only deal with what it can measure." In order to measure the socio-cultural life-worlds of its citizens, state legislation generates major generalizations, simplifications, categorizations, and estimations, as they do when trying to measure the number of trees and the species actually existing in a forest. Such abstractions pave a rutted path for how the state deals with its citizens: static, standardized and uniform [Scott, 1999: 82]. This leads many (academics, policymakers, and the urban poor) to the conclusion that people or individuals in need must fit the system in order to receive something from it.

In São Paulo, I heard many narratives mirroring the static notion of government policies to assist the urban poor. Damiana's narrative is generally representative of the others I heard:

> "*I stayed approximately fifteen days on the sidewalk of a school that was close to where I got evicted in the first place. Then the city became aware of us. The city paid two months, said it would be for two years, but after two months the payment got canceled. While I got those two months, I was called by COHAB, […] I was called to do the registration there that would have gained me access to the apartment. At that time, I was married, and my husband was working, so I went there, I did the whole process, I was happy in my life. But when they were doing there the sieve they do; my husband was on vacation. They claimed that we exceeded the limit of about 200 Reais. It was something like that. I was rejected because of that, then I lost the chance to gain my apartment and also lost my husband, he ended up in the hospital, and things went very badly. After three months I lost my husband, did not know where he was and have never seen him again since then."* [Damiana, São Paulo, 1: 4-5]

This example illustrates two critical points about policies. First, it does not take much to fall outside of a given policy's applicability requirements. Although poverty is multidimensional, the state usually accounts for poverty in economic terms. If you are poor but a little bit over the standardized economic threshold defined by the state, you may not have access to a policy despite having an otherwise clear need for it. Second, the social consequences of being rejected from a support policy can go well beyond economic consequences for the urban poor.

Urban poor strategies for using legislation to stay put in housing in Istanbul have some distinct characteristics. Although social policies are also in place and utilized by the urban poor to deal with the risk of displacement in this city, the research participants emphasize another form of this strategy. As noted above, in Istanbul I primarily encountered lawsuit strategies – using the legal system – to redress grievances with landlords and local or national developers and government actors. This strategy was usually performed by either a single individual or by collectivities. Within the sites studied, this

approach was applied in Tarlabaşı by the "Tarlabaşı Solidarity Organization for Property Owners and Tenants", responding to the T360development plans. In Gaziosmanpaşa, single individuals as well as organizations commonly applied this lawsuit strategy to reject at-risk zone procedures or zoning policies.

Several interview partners in Gaziosmanpaşa infused the research with their personal experiences of deploying legislative framework strategies, specifically that of filling a lawsuit. One particular case, however, permitted me to follow up over time and better understand the dynamics of this strategy for individual owners. At the time of our meeting, Makbule and her son were living in an auto-constructed gecekondu building and had been struggling for many years to receive a final, official land title. After becoming engaged with the Housing Rights Council Gaziosmanpaşa – participating in meetings and volunteering for the council – one November day in 2015, they found a note from the local municipality at their door. In the note, the municipality claimed that parts of the building were illegally constructed and if Makbule couldn't provide legal documents, then she be evicted in the next four weeks. Deeply concerned and worried, Makbule, with council assistance, eventually filled a lawsuit against the eviction order. During a follow up interview in March of 2016, Makbule proudly explained that they had won their case and the eviction order was cancelled. But, again, in September of 2016, the local municipality went back to their original claim to order a two-week eviction notice. Although the eviction order and ensuing demolition of parts of the building was technically illegal, and despite local protests, the municipality succeeded in evicting and demolishing parts of the gecekondu dwelling.

As this example shows, even when the urban poor win in the courts they are not necessarily successful in avoiding displacement. Moreover, filling a lawsuit incorporates a number of hurdles and risks for the plaintiffs in terms of creating high amounts of personal debt to pay legal fees, being persecuted by officials or neighbors, and even ultimate displacement despite success in the courts. Indeed, research participants living in gecekondus repeatedly mentioned the issue of being persecuted by officials and other residents. They claimed city officials representing the municipality harassed the dwellers via blackmail, gossip, and other forms of pressure against any who would show resistance. Neighbors interested in selling their own property reinforced this psychosocial distress by engaging in similar actions against the plaintiffs.

As the eviction of Makbule and her family demonstrates, even if the urban poor win their case, they often lose in the end because the state may fail to properly implement or enforce the law. The chasm between de jure and de facto law in Turkey has only been increasing in recent years. Nevertheless, local activists in Istanbul continue to consider lawsuits an important strategy of urban protest that should be applied frequently:

> "*You will say, what is the meaning of the court decision? There is a meaning, even if it's not much, unfortunately. There is a meaning. We want it to be of great meaning. But even if it's not much, there is a meaning. You know we've been saying there is a court decision, there's this or there's that. We are protesting, the voices of our protests are getting stronger, we are becoming more famous."* [male participant A in Gaziosmanpaşa Housing Council meeting 1: 22]

Multiple and frequent individual lawsuits take their toll on powerholders and send a signal to others about ways to take action. When lawsuits are filed collectively, the hurdles (e.g., costs) and risks to plaintiffs can be decreased and prolong the development/eviction process.

Prolonging the interwoven processes of development and displacement via collectively filed lawsuits deserves additional attention. Jointly filing a lawsuit can produce major delays in development completion. In turn, delays dramatically increase the legal fees on the part of developers and thereby reduce their anticipated profit margins. In general, such lawsuits make development projects less attractive and therefore reduce displacement pressures on the urban poor.

> "*Yeah it is just one little piece that's all, nothing more, but it is an important piece because we are in the middle of the bigger plan. If we do something, then we know: Okay we cannot stop everything everywhere. But at least we can delay, we can postpone, or we can cause the progress of development to slow down. Whatever. Because we believe that as long as we force them to slow down, they will get a crisis because the project costs will explode. Okay, perhaps they are not losing real money every time. But at least they lose the opportunity for further projects or they lose future financial interest profits.*" [Süleyman, Istanbul, 1: 12]

Within the research, the example of the T360 development project in Tarlabaşı highlights the use of this strategy.

The efforts of the "Tarlabaşı Solidarity Organization for Property Owners and Tenants" led to multiple lawsuits against T360. Whether the strategy was successful or not is difficult to surmise because the organization claims to have won several lawsuits and the T360 management claim there were no delays. Ahmet, the head of the "Tarlabaşı Solidarity Organization for Property Owners and Tenants" proclaimed the successes of the lawsuits in an interview:

> "*In the year 2005, this place where you live, Tarlabaşı got declared under law number 5366 [name of law]. We are now entering 2016. 11 years have passed, but nothing has happened in terms of construction due to our lawsuit. Nothing will ever happen with these ideas! Nothing*

> *will happen with these thoughts! Above all, the lawsuit we won has become an example for all Turkey. For an injustice like that.*" [Ahmet, Istanbul, 1: 32]

Remembering a conversation which I had with a woman representing the T360 development project, I received a very different appraisal:

> "*I accept maybe we can have a small delay, because when we are working here, we have to be a little bit careful, respect a few things, because of the old buildings here. This is why maybe it will be delayed one month or so. Of course, you can have some short delays. Maybe one to three months. You have penalties in the contract. We have to pay for a delay, approximately 2 percent of the whole project's cost for the delay. But as a maximum, as a maximum it can be six months, we cannot delay more. But definitely not 5 years as some state; no way."* [memory minutes from field note: 31, Istanbul, 06.11.2015]

It is clear that whatever their causes, delays in real estate development projects create major financial burdens for developers. Both tenants' rights activists and developers in the interviews recognized this, even if they disagreed to the degree of lawsuit impacts. This example of collective lawsuits suggests that prolonging a development to increase the costs for the developer to a point of profit loss and potential project abandonment is a moderately successful strategy – more favorable in terms of costs and benefits than individual lawsuits.

5.5 Accounting for Economic, Social, and Cultural Capital and Strategies

Thus far, the discussion has outlined the different anti-displacement strategies of the urban poor according to types of capital using Bourdieu's theoretical framework. I have applied Boterman's approach to housing strategies to explain the different ways the urban poor respond to displacement pressures in housing sub-markets. In line with Boterman's accounts and those of others, I demonstrate how the urban poor do not apply only one single strategy. Instead, many of the research participants applied different strategies (anchored in the types of capital) to different situations simultaneously (e.g. applying cultural capital strategies alongside social capital strategies while negotiating with landlords). Table 17 compares the total percentage of examples of the strategies used by the urban poor when threatened with displacement across the housing forms. That limitation, compared to a more detailed table in which each item would be represented, is due to the limited representatively of the questionnaire and in terms of a clearer illustration. Differences between strategy application across housing sites become with this presentation more apparent. Notably, economic strategies contain the highest percentages across each housing form. The lowest percentages are seen for cultural strategies in the non-movement occupation and the single room occupancy.

Housing form	Applying economic capital	Applying social capital	Applying cultural capital
Occupation by non-movement	54%	35%	4%
Occupation by movement	61%	33%	**46%**
Favela Vila Nova Jaguaré	**73%**	33%	31%
Favela Paraisópolis	57%	**47%**	23%
Gecekondu	39%	22%	26%
"SROs"	46%	28%	10%

Table 17: Survey results from São Paulo and Istanbul on implemented strategies, summery of each type of capital.

The descriptive figures in the table immediately raise questions. For instance, when are these types of strategies applied? And what accounts for the differences between the distinctive housing forms as well between the types of capital strategies? Transaction costs help to explain the preference for applying economic capital strategies. That means that economic capital, in contrast to social or cultural capital, is not built up over a longer course of time by the urban poor. But, for instance, the question remains: why, do the dwellers of an occupation organized by a nonmovement in São Paulo as well as dwellers from singles rooms in Istanbul rarely use legal system strategies (>10%) in comparison to occupations by movements or within the gecekondu (<25%)? If the quest for the urban poor to stay put or even improve their housing situation is organized by capital transactions within the framework of durable inequalities, there should be factors influencing why the different strategies are chosen by the urban poor. Therefore, it is necessary to identify which elements mainly impact strategy selection and strategy outcomes.

5.3 What elements matter for the different strategies deployed by the urban poor?

To summarize the arguments within the framework of durable housing inequalities, two elements stand out as really mattering for the different strategies deployed by the urban poor:

1. The housing form and...

2. The composition of different types of capital matter. Despite its importance, economic capital isn't everything.

5.3.1 Housing forms and their influence on strategies

Beginning with the housing forms, the research data suggest three core features of housing forms that influence how different housing sub-markets shape the strategies the urban poor choose to deal with displacement pressure: a) access and preferences, b) security of tenure, and 3) the strategic repertoire of the housing form.

a) Differences in access (restrictions and options) and preferences to enter a housing sub-market

The interview findings indicate that different housing forms attract different sets of dwellers or, to put it in other words, the different housing sub-markets have different entry requirements. These differences can be due to financial restrictions. For instance, some urban poor can finance a dwelling in an auto-constructed neighborhood, such as a favela or gecekondu neighborhood, while others do not have enough deployable economic capital to live in this housing form. Similarly, some segments of the urban poor lack the financial resources to pay a deposit and are therefore required to find a housing niche wherein deposits are not required. Table 18 (below), proxies these hurdles by comparing the average income of urban poor residents within the survey sample and the average rent they have to pay across housing forms.

Housing form	Average income	standard deviation (SD)	Average Rent	standard deviation (SD)	Percentage of income spent on rent
Occupation (non movement)	268,02	210,89	130, 23	45.24	48,59%
Occupation (movement)	244,57	142,11	123,56	43.87	50,52%
Favela Vila Nova Jaguaré	288,68	201,51	131,12	32,11	45,42%
Favela Paraisópolis	231,73	495,05	80,87	40,45	34,90%
Gecekondus	649,75	339,6	212,63	87,13	32,72%
"SROs"	687,6	248,7	247,93	145,33	36,06%

Table 18: Survey results on average rent, income and calculated percentage of income spent on rent across housing forms in São Paulo and Istanbul, converted into $.

Two major findings stand out in this table. First, the proportion of income that is directed to rent varies between the two cities. In São Paulo (four housing form columns on the left), the urban poor spend approximately half of their income to pay the rent. By contrast, in Istanbul (two columns on the right), the urban poor pay only around one-third of their monthly income for rent. This suggests that the urban poor housing sub-markets in São Paulo are under higher pressure in terms of market prices. As a result, we can speculate for example that this helps to explain why the urban poor in São Paulo (see Table 16, above) have higher percentages when it comes to engaging in economic strategies (e.g., trade-offs, seeking additional employment) simply in order to pay the rent.

Second, looking at the standard deviations (SDs) for rent and income, we see another angle on how the housing forms differ. These differences confirm that the urban poor even within housing forms, let alone neighborhoods, are far from being a homogenous group. They also allow us to understand the heterogeneity in housing forms in terms of their requirements for housing these diverse segments of the urban poor, e.g. when comparing the percentage of income spent on rent

between the two housing forms in São Paulo: “occupation by movement” and the “Favela Paraisópolis”.

In addition to economic obstacles, membership in certain ethnic or minority group can also influence one’s housing access (e.g., the Armenian church’s requirements in Istanbul). In other instances, certain political views are required (e.g., for the housing movements in São Paulo). However, the data also suggest that the urban poor do not solely make decisions about seeking particular housing forms according to economic rationales or political convictions. Other decision-making factors can include personal safety, dependency, and perceptions of neighborhoods. Single mothers in São Paulo, for example, may prefer joining a housing movement in order to establish networks of social support and physical security, while others prefer the independence of renting part of a house in a favela. Many interview partners in São Paulo linked favela housing to crime, drugs, and “hanging out in the streets” (as suggested for example by Cida in the cortiço or Maria in the occupied FLM building). Still others prefer occupations without the inclusion of movements as providing a degree of social security without forcing political participation.

The recorded housing trajectories of the interviewees and survey partners also reflect these findings. Moreover, and in line with my argument above, dwellers from the different housing forms in both cities formulated several stereotypes towards the other housing forms during interviews. These include, in the majority of cases, prejudices about crime, security, and role models for children in other housing forms. Overall, the findings suggest that the mobility between the different housing sub-markets is limited but that the boundaries are semi-permeable: not everyone can or wants to live in any housing form. Instead, the urban poor adapt to thresholds for housing sub-markets according to their deployable resources and personal preference.

b) Differences in security of tenure

Another feature of housing forms that influences how different housing sub-markets shape the strategies the urban poor choose to deal with displacement pressure is security of tenure. Security of tenure can be unpacked by housing form according to different displacement pressures.

According to the responses within the interviews, increases in rent are the dominant reason for previous displacement in both cities. The second most common reason respondents left a previous location was to achieve a better lifestyle. Employment needs (job loss or a new job) and family reasons were also named as important factors. The dwellers in the questionnaire were also asked about previous experiences of evictions and episodes of homelessness as table 19 shows.

Housing form	Experiences of eviction	Experiences of homeless	Average amount of evictions	Average amount of episodes of homelessness
Occupation (non movement)	52%	54%	2,5	2,0
Occupation (movement)	45%	4%	1,7	2,0
Favela Vila Nova Jaguaré	12%	1%	1,0	1,0
Favela Paraisópolis	10%	28%	1,5	2,2
Gecekondus	50%	4%	1,4	1,7
"SROs"	44%	18%	1,2	2,2

Table 19: Comparison between the different housing forms with the recipients being asked if they had already made experiences with displacement and homelessness.

Considering the semi-permeable mobility between housing forms and the verbal accounts within the interviews about experiences of displacement and eviction, the hypothesis that specific housing forms are more or less likely to experience displacement becomes more obvious. Additional insights are also possible to gain when looking for instance into the experiences of dwellers in an occupation led by a movement. The prior experiences of eviction-based displacement for movement-led building occupants corresponds to the highest use of cultural capital strategies (i.e., litigation) by residents in this housing form to avoid eviction (see Table 19 above). This suggests that dwellers of a non-movement occupation in São Paulo are at a higher risk of displacement than dwellers movement-led occupations and dwellers in more "developed" favelas, such as Vila Nova Jaguaré. In Istanbul, dwellers of the so-called 'bachelor rooms' (SROs) are easier victims of physical displacement by their landlords than renters of an Armenian church housing unit. It should also be noted that the more general form of displacement appears to differ as well: while dwellers of occupations in São Paulo and renters of single room occupancy in Tarlabaşı are the most likely to have suffered from physical displacement (e.g., evictions), dwellers in urbanized favelas or gecekondus experience other forms of displacement, such as the exclusionary displacement from gentrification routinely described in the interviews.

c) Differences in sets of strategies or strategic repertoires by housing form

Combining the results of the tables in the previous two sections (a and b) with the findings on strategies summarized in Table 17 and the interview data, it is possible to better account for why strategic repertoires differ across housing sub-markets. Most notably, however, the interviews and participant observation point to the legal system or legality of different housing forms as highly important in shaping the primary anti-displacement strategies applied by the urban poor in different housing contexts. For example, within the housing niches of gecekondus, legal recourse is often not as clearly defined due to the diverse forms of land titles. Therefore, their repertoire on possible actions might be limited.

Perhaps more interesting, though, are considerations about the social environment of a housing form: particular features of each housing sub-market make distinct types of capital easier or

harder to gather and deploy strategically. It can be argued that economic capital is easier to gather in dwellings in which little to no rent is paid, as the dwellers from those housing niches reported in the interviews (e.g., the cortiço, the FLM movement occupation). This means not only that dwellers with low incomes can more easily use economic resources to immediately diffuse pressing displacement threats, they may focus on non-economic strategies that secure their insecure tenure (i.e., movement-led occupation lawsuits or political activism and Tarlabaşı's self-help networks). However, summarizing of the descriptions of the interview partner, it seems that housing forms with low rent requirements also tend to have more social conflicts between the dwellers, e.g the cortiço, the non-movement occupation or the single room occupancy. In these social environments, community bonds and solidarity among residents can be more problematic. As such, gathering access to social networks in the direct environment and increasing the quality of bonds within those networks can be hindered to the point where the availability of social or cultural capital strategies are decreased.

> *"[…] but here everyone hates each other. For example, staring a while ago, the others intensified the slutty things they did to me and themselves, like shitting in the bathroom on the floor, like peeing in the bathroom on the floor. Simply to attack each other. Only that who's being attacked are themselves, you know why? Because when we live in a place, we have to preserve that place, regardless if you are not paying rent, at least it is enough to take care of the place you live in and the people you share it with. And here is something that does not exist, that is union. Get it? Does not exist. Because if it would exist, if we would be part of something bigger, of a movement or something and get help from others, we wouldn't be in such a misery."* [Cida, São Paulo, 1: 8]

That quote reinforces the idea that housing forms affiliated to some degrees with housing organizations or movements more frequently use social and cultural strategies to stay put. The figures suggest dwellers in such settlements apply social or cultural capital transactions more frequently than those lacking established organizations to connect residents. As I learned from representatives of the FLM, the Gaspar Garcia Human Rights Center, the Gaziosmanpaşa Housing Council, and the community center of Paraisópolis, these organizations aim to achieve networks of solidarity between the urban poor as part of their political agenda. At the boundary of civil society organizations and social movement organizations, they particularly stress, through networking and collective action, the 'emancipatory' character of non-economic types of capital that can be strategically deployed to alter the course of displacement. Additionally, these organizations provide legal advice to dwellers and try to educate urban poor about their rights. As Juliana [São Paulo, 1: 4], an employee of the Human Rights Center Gaspar Garcia in São Paulo, summarized:

> "*I think the process of organization is important also because it first, in my opinion, it helps to strengthen an identity. When we do any work, one of the things we work on is the question of class identity for yourself. The need to see people not as isolated, but of being part of a group, or even social class. By that, the urban poor are not only getting empowered, but we help them to understand where the society positions them and help them to struggle against those processes of exploitation. If nothing else, we help them to make their way around*."

To review, the legal system of a housing form and its social environment strongly impact the strategic repertoires of the urban poor inhabitants living therein. Most notably, housing forms organized by or affiliated with housing organizations or movement groups foster social and cultural capital strategies to a greater extent than housing forms that lack these infrastructural supports. These strategic repertoires, however, do not result in purely positive outcomes. As the discussion above also makes clear, social and cultural capital strategies also generate division and exclusion. In short, these adaptive strategies can still reinforce durable inequalities between the poor and the nonpoor as well as within the ranks of the nonpoor. Restrictions in and expansions of the available strategies for the urban poor are rooted in the semipermeable mobility between housing forms, which are paired with the different levels of security of tenure and the repertoires of different types of capital strategies within housing forms. These three features of housing forms matter for the strategies used by the urban poor, but so do the different types of capital.

5.3.2 The composition of different types of capital matter

Although the urban poor studied here primarily communicated the use of economic strategies (e.g., transactions of economic capital to secure their tenure), other types of capital are also being transferred. To be sure, differences in socio-economic status and housing form occupancy create differences in the type of capital they can strategically deploy. For example, those with higher socio-economic status probably have more economic capital as well as to social networks who might offer short-term economic assistance. But, despite its importance, economic capital is not the only form of capital necessary to deal with displacement pressures or to attain improvement in one's housing situation. Social and cultural capital are also very important.

I came across several groups within the urban poor population that relied on social capital strategies, such as self-help networks, within their communities. These include the Roma, Kurdish, and Armenians as well as Gay and Trans* people. Taking the example of the trans* community in Istanbul, Havin's experiences described earlier underscore the fact that even if she or her Trans* friends had the economic resources to stay put or relocate to a better housing situation, unless they can move as a group, they are routinely discriminated against by landlords and neighbors because of their sexual

identity. In cases where a landlord refused to allow trans individuals to sign a lease, Havin explained, male or female *trans friends would rent a place in their name and sub-lease it to grant them access. This is to say that the urban poor require a certain amount of social capital too to successfully avoid displacements and reduce their consequences.

The same holds for non-dominant cultural capital (e.g., knowing your way around, identifying peers and opponents, and learning the necessary 'street smarts'). The lack of economic capital can be compensated for through the development and transformation of social or cultural capital. Importantly, though, these two forms generally require a longer timeframe to accumulate, according to Bourdieu. Therefore, applying different sets of capital strategies, in other words a bricolage of different types of capital, may allow the urban poor to navigate through the housing system given their limited economic capital.

Regardless of the bricolage of economic, social, and capital strategies for staying put, housing struggles and displacement pressures appear to be a constant factor in the lives of the urban poor. Both the housing trajectories of interview partners and the findings drawn from the survey indicate that even if some of the research participants succeeded in overcoming displacement in one situation, sooner or later similar issues of displacement pressure resurfaced. This raises the thorny question: why are so many of the urban poor unsuccessful in their struggle to stay put despite their multiple and overlapping capital strategies for staying put?

To address this question, I illustrate the connection between strategies to avoid displacement and durable inequalities. I argue that while anti-displacement strategies can be considered processes in terms of capital transactions, they can also be considered mechanisms of durable housing inequalities. In other words, Bourdieu's theory allows us to better understand how groups can take a step up the ladder or hang on to one rung, but does not explain how the ladder actually works. To understand these dynamics, Tilly's theory of durable inequalities points to underlying mechanisms. Moreover, looking at strategies from the angle of durable inequalities can explain why so many of the strategies of the urban poor to avoid displacement ultimately fail.

5.4 Examining the dual nature of the strategies in terms of durable housing inequalities

The first part of this chapter emphasized on the ways the urban poor accumulate and deploy different types of capital in order to assess core strategies across the two cities. The second part identified how characteristics of housing forms influence when and where different strategies are predominantly used. This section applies Tilly's theory of durable inequalities to examine the dual nature of the strategies in terms of inequalities and their reproduction.

This third step is a way of re-envisioning the strategies according to Tilly's mechanisms of opportunity hoarding, emulation, and adaptation. Again, such typologies of previously identified mechanisms can only paint a partial picture, but they are useful in recognizing the dynamic nature of structural housing inequalities as well as the forces or strategies that seek to challenge their reproduction and main effects (i.e., displacement). As Tilly himself made clear [Tilly, 1999], given their processual quality of explaining dynamics that shift over time, mechanisms are somewhat malleable and cannot always be analytically separated. To sustain an argument that the identified strategies are also mechanisms of durable housing inequalities, I link anti-displacement strategies to Tilly's account of mechanisms of durable inequality. In line with the different types of capital, I focus on four economic strategies, two social strategies, and one cultural strategy.

a) Economic strategies

As argued earlier in this chapter, economic strategies are applied the vast majority of urban poor and operate on both short and long-term bases. Four economic strategies for coping with displacement pressures – "trade-offs," "increasing housing density," "increasing income" and "asset accumulation" – are highly pertinent to the mechanisms Tilly identified as reinforcing durable inequalities.

Trade-offs, conceptualized above as "[…] temporary strategies in which the urban poor reallocate financial resources to meet financial requirements," are easily re-imagined as adaptations. Certain trade-offs in particular, like moving to the periphery or going without meals, are adaptations for surviving everyday life in unequal systems, such as housing systems. Prioritizing certain needs over others given limited financial resources reflects strategic action. Taking this thought further, by adapting to an unequal system, Tilly would argue that trade-offs become normative for the urban poor population within the particular system. Sacrificing one's nutritional needs or sanitation needs to maintain one's housing needs may only work up to a certain point even once it's become normative behavior, but it can lower the overall quality of housing as individuals make do with such constraints.

The strategies of "increasing housing density" and "increasing income" also follow the notion of adaptation. The former, in particular, overlaps with trade-off strategies to a certain degree. Space, privacy, and potentially safety may be sacrificed to pool income. But so, does increasing income by seeking additional employment. The urban poor must sacrifice more of their unpaid work time or even limited amounts of "leisure" time in order to afford housing or meet other basic human needs.

The strategy of accumulating economic assets can be easily rephrased into Tilly's concept of opportunity hoarding, especially given an inadequate supply of housing. For this strategy, I argue that next to other approaches, many urban poor accustom themselves to finding precarious housing niches

where they can save money one way or another. Finding or establishing a housing form where they don't have to pay rent and then selling those units for a profit at a later point closely follows the definition of opportunity hoarding (e.g. increasing the amount of money the new "owners" would have to pay to "buy" the same unit or simply waiting, like absentee landlords, for the demand to be high enough that profit is possible). That is, in their attempt to create assets out of such housing conditions, many urban poor create new thresholds for other poor people in the urban sphere. As seen in the case of cortiços, some gecekondu and favelas, and even some occupations, the urban poor often occupy a position of preying on subsequent waves of the urban poor or urban poor currently competing to find housing.

b) Social self-help network strategies

Despite their variety, social strategies of self-help networks can be viewed as forms of opportunity hoarding, too. In fact, the exclusive nature of such strategies in this research makes them among the more obvious forms of opportunity hoarding. The self-help networks I identified were primarily "aligned to ethnicities, political identities, and geographic proximity," which follows Tilly's account of social and ethnic categories. Further, within these networks, access to and provision of assets or "rewards," as Tilly [1999] would call it, were kept closely within the network. This means that non-members, who were often also exploited by the same agents and forces, suffered from their exclusion from these same networks. These dynamics as reinforcing housing inequalities are exemplified by the Armenian church in Tarlabaşı. In this case, being Armenian, of Armenian descent, or being closely connected to someone who is already a member of that distinctive network, provides access to the foundation's affordable housing. However, the experience of outsiders shows that if you are not a member of that network, access is denied, and access is denied even if you have a loose affiliation to the distinctive group or invest in the housing form.

Self-help network strategies present the dual nature of opportunity hoarding: while allowing some not only to get by, but also get ahead, it rejects others and reinforces a line of distinction between "us" and "them." Beyond reinforcing existing distinctions, new lines of categorical pairs can be created by the non-elite, adding additional levels of differentiation and inequality among the urban poor. Moreover, strategies of self-help can also be seen as emulation mechanisms.

As an emulation mechanism in the reproduction of housing inequalities, FLM as an example remains pertinent. Emulation, defined by Tilly as "the reproduction of organizational models already operating elsewhere" [Tilly, 1999: 95], is apparent in the organizational structure and function of FLM. Considering the requirements to become a dweller of a FLM occupation, FLM emulates the systems of exclusion used by powerholders, e.g. the exclusion of substance users, in order to be able to 'make the

occupation work'. If for example FLM wouldn't have such requirements, Patricia argued, the occupation could not be a success because basic understandings of community, solidarity and political activism are different for urban poor substance users than for those not being addicted.

c) Social political activism strategies

The political and collective activism strategies I identified in the two cities are diverse, but the dominant forms best align with Tilly's account of adaptation. Activism strategies routinely adapt to existing political frameworks. The squatters in São Paulo and the housing rights organizers in Istanbul expressly try to improve the lot of all the urban poor as opposed what was just identified in mutual aid and self-help networks. Political activism strategies do not generally create direct or immediate rewards or access to rewards. As noted earlier, the FLM movement in São Paulo uses occupation as a last resort.

However, some forms of political activism organizations do use emulation in the sense that they copy or transplant ideals, approaches, organizational structures or values from other housing organizations or social movements in the country or in other countries. In Istanbul, this is evidenced in the notion of the "right to the city" and efforts to inform and network across social categories of the urban poor. In contrast to Istanbul's style of mobilization that draws from templates external to the city, São Paulo's "organizing and squatting" as a local practice emulates longstanding housing movement mobilization within the city.

Furthermore, the strategic application of squatting may set the foundation for future forms of opportunity hoarding or be seen as a long-term mechanism for opportunity hoarding in the light of durable inequalities. Similar to, the Armenian foundation in Istanbul, the housing movements in São Paulo are built on distinctive networks, which offer access only to a particular set of dwellers despite their broader goals. The FLM housing movement draws some lines of differentiation according to social and political attributes rather than ethnic considerations (e.g. the rejection of homeless people and substance users). In a limited sense, then, FLM limits opportunities to political and social peers, but these limitations are not as concrete or impermeable as those of the Armenian church. Arguably, though, the hierarchical structure of FLM and their core values is more about adaptation to encourage mutual aid and daily routines of resistance (i.e., eviction resistance). Their system applies clear rewards and punishments according to the willingness of the dwellers to obey the rules that serve the interests of the entire group. While this demands an agenda (political and social) that may be exclusionary for some, it also provides scripts for solidarity and mutual aid among the urban poor that can be emulated beyond a particular occupation. The agenda is also non-static – ideas, arguments and values are going in both directions – the organization is influenced by the dwellers just as they are influenced by the

organization. In sum, if the dwellers then move to a different precarious housing form, they take the "new" scripts with them – those infused with the political and social agenda of the housing organization and its inhabitants. In the long-run, an altered political and social identity might diffuse and thereby create other forms of opportunities and access to rewards.

d) Cultural agreement-seeking strategies

In general, the dynamics of agreement-seeking strategies also link to both adaptation and opportunity hoarding mechanisms. The urban poor tend to cater their agreement-seeking strategies to their particular housing form and context in an adaptive way. And the powerholders they negotiate with seem have adapted in response. By agreeing to negotiate, the urban poor acknowledge the existing power imbalances and, as some might argue, accept the unequal distribution of housing. Even seeking mutual interest on a basis of trust can reinforce the system of unequal housing. In these terms, negotiations can reproduce unequal power relations because individuals must arrange themselves according to the dominant cultural demands and rules of the elite (their system of rewards and restrictions). As certain cases described earlier indicate, the elites being negotiated with often operate in bad faith, deceiving the urban poor to get the upper hand or otherwise performing the idea that agreement-seeking strategies (e.g., lawsuits) have no impact.

At the same time, when looking from the perspective of owners as opposed to renters, coveting a land title can take the form of opportunity hording within the process of negotiations. Bargaining for a higher immediate reward (e.g. in terms of a higher financial compensation or a better relocation site), only those urban poor with the proper title and cultural knowhow succeed and even then, the long-term results often favor the powerholders. The elite appear to be quite successful at dividing and deceiving the urban poor who engage in negotiations as a means of conquering them. As the example of Makbule and her family demonstrates, as the amount and forms of deployable capabilities differs between households, the outcomes of negotiations can differ to the point where those with more cultural capital can take advantage and those with less are left with nothing.

5.5 Concluding Remarks

The overarching question of how the urban poor cope with displacement pressure can be answered as follows:

The urban poor apply a mixture of economic, social and, cultural capital transactions or strategies, in order to secure their housing situation or improve it in the face of displacement pressures. These strategies take many forms, including social networking, economic trade-offs, and navigating the legislative and legal systems of housing policy, to name a few. These strategies are

crucially shaped by the nexus of available types of capital and the characteristics of the housing form. While some housing forms provide support for the gathering of certain types of capital over others, such as movement-led occupations supporting social capital over economic capital, other housing forms decrease the availability of forms of capital, as the cortiço indirect support of economic capital accumulation strategies shows. Additionally, I have made the strong case that economic capital alone does not guarantee housing security. Instead, I argue that applying mix of different strategies is the best way for the urban poor to stay put. This suggests that the urban poor have the best chances of countering ongoing displacement pressures by applying different strategies to different threats and that the urban poor tend to engage in this matching of strategies with threats according to housing forms.

These arguments are anchored in a dialogue with Bourdieu's theory of types of capital, as filtered through Boterman's application of this theory to housing strategies – one I think offers a fruitful approach to understanding the complex processes involved in the urban poor's navigation through the different housing sub-markets. Yet, understanding how individuals can maintain or improve their housing situation in the present couldn't – on its own – tell us how those strategies interact with larger, ongoing systems inequality. Therefore, I applied Tilly's theory of durable inequality and the mechanisms operating to produce and reproduce inequalities to durable housing inequalities in this research. This offered a much more differentiated view on the processes, interdependencies, interconnections and long-term consequences.

Overall, I examined housing forms as entry points for examining housing access as well as housing sustainability in the cities of São Paulo and Istanbul. That is, I examined the dynamics of displacement and strategies against displacement as representing systemic features of durable inequality. Importantly, by synthesizing crucial theoretical frameworks and applying them to my empirical cases, I show that many of the anti-displacement strategies of the urban poor have a dual character in terms of their outcomes. In particular, they often have both inclusive and exclusive forces and therefore rarely undermine the mechanisms that reproduce housing inequalities. This means that while anti-displacement strategies may increase the chances for staying put for some, they increase the chances of displacement for others.

More specifically, at present, the urban poor are being exploited in terms of housing. As an unfortunate result, their strategic actions are playing a role in sustaining the housing inequalities, especially via strategies that mirror mechanisms of adaptation and opportunity hoarding that reinforce existing resource imbalances between the poor and nonpoor, inequalities among the poor, as well as reinforcing old and creating new lines of social categorical differences. Opportunity hoarding strategies are particularly notable in creating and reinforcing forms of exploitation. Overall, many of the

strategies the urban poor use to avoid displacement can be considered, to varying degrees, exploitative of others. In both cities, the urban poor and those in power, apply forms of exploitation, adaptation, and opportunity hoarding in ways that produce similar iterations of durable inequalities.

6. Conclusion

How do the urban poor cope with housing displacement? What kinds of strategies do the urban poor develop? And what elements shape which strategies they deploy? To answer these questions, I unpacked the idea of strategies for "coping" with the threat or uncertainty of displacement to arrive at sociological conceptualizations of these strategies – ones anchored in Bourdieu's [1986] concept of capital as well as the application of Tilly's [1999] theory of durable inequalities to housing. Empirically, I identified and analyzed the anti-displacement strategies of the urban poor within the complex housing contexts of São Paulo and Istanbul. Combining existing analytic frameworks with my original data, I also speculate about the effects of the identified strategies for the urban poor in terms of durable housing inequalities.

In my theoretical framework chapter (chapter two), I argue that housing inequalities and displacement pressures for the urban poor are forms of durable inequalities for two core reasons. For one, the housing market primarily follows principles of supply and demand wherein housing inequalities and displacement pressures are structural, patterned in ways that do not depend on personal hardship, motivation, or individual attitudes. Second, Tilly's theory lends itself to understanding inequality as multidimensional (i.e., not solely about economics even if this is the base), obdurate but not deterministic, and therefore relational. These aspects are crucial given what we know, thanks to Blokland and colleagues [2016], about the strong connection between inequalities of social position and inequalities of spatial location as a relational tandem, in which both elements interact with each other to reinforce inequalities.

Presenting housing inequalities and displacement processes are durable is not to conclude that the urban poor are merely 'passive victims.' Once again, we must be cautious about overly simplistic conceptualizations. Poverty must be approached as multidimensional [e.g., Gordon, Spicker, Leguizamón, 2007; Simone, 2016]. Just as structural inequalities and poverty are multidimensional, *the* urban poor must also be understood as heterogeneous. Such an understanding makes scientific accounts categorizing the urban poor more complicated, therefore I use the term as an umbrella term to capture varieties of deprivation along with stretching conceptually similarities among the heterogeneous urban poor [e.g., Baker, 2008]. As part of this foundational picture of the subjects of my study, I cited Blokland and colleagues [2016] concepts of capabilities. More specifically, I highlighted some of the daily routines of how capabilities are applied by the urban poor in order to link them to the strategies urban poor develop to stay put in the later chapters. As chapter 2 makes clear, these underlying considerations required I take a relational approach to analyze housing inequalities.

As part of describing and adapting Tilly's conceptualization of durable inequalities to the context of urban housing, I discussed four crucial social mechanisms of processes of inequalities that reproduce and foster durable inequalities: exploitation, opportunity hoarding, emulation, and adaptation. Moreover, as I linked each of these mechanisms to housing dynamics, displacement, and the cycle of displacement, I emphasized the importance of understanding housing displacement as a diachronic form of exploitation – one that affects and impacts not only the individuals at one specific point in time, but is also long lasting, reverberating across generations.

Having conceptually situated my research approach in chapter three as inspired by the comparative urbanism domain and infused by considerations of participatory research, I turned to a thick description of the research sites in chapter four. I framed the cases as distinct housing forms instead of neighborhoods because this allowed for a more micro-level vantage into diverse housing dynamics. Doing so also helped me to avoid the trap of over-generalization by neighborhood. That is, I investigated the socio-economic particularities of the different housing forms or housing sub-markets as defined by Bourdieu [2005] and in line with other scholars [e.g. Harvey and Chatterjee, 1974]. In the description of the housing forms in São Paulo and Istanbul, I nevertheless included certain neighborhood particularities to better account for the 'tandem' character of spatial location and social position [Blokland et al., 2016]. Thus, I built upward and back down again from housing sub-market to neighborhood and up to urban transformations to recognize the interactions across these levels as shaping the contexts in which the urban poor in are threatened or affected by displacements.

Through observation, interviews, and secondary sources, I identified several housing forms within each city. Despite differences between the two cities, the housing forms also shared important similarities as comparable sub-markets for the urban poor, such as the favelas in São Paulo and gecekondus in Istanbul or cortiços in São Paulo and the single room occupancy in Istanbul. Then thick descriptions in combination with my later findings suggest that while housing sub-markets evolve according to particular forms and urban histories, they also become institutionalized as comparable housing sub-markets in at least two megacities. Over the course of time, then, some housing forms dissolve while others emerge due to shifting power relations, the introduction of new policies, or alternations in supply and demand, but central pressures and features of urban housing markets or regimes are quite stable or path-dependent. That means that the urban housing regimes shape the responses by the urban poor and vice versa but that these interactions are constrained to certain sets of actions and responses within a given time period. In sum, housing dynamics are dynamic and place-contingent, but they are not so chaotic and contingent so as to prevent finding fruitful lines of comparison.

Favelas in São Paulo and gecekondus in Istanbul are excellent, comparative examples of how housing sub-markets can change. In both cities, the urban poor established these auto-constructed housing forms on squatting land already in the past but increased drastically in the 60s and 70s. While squatting as a contentious housing repertoire remained a central strategy in São Paulo, whether through the occupation of abandoned buildings or of empty land, it not nearly as central or frequent in Istanbul. In both cities, though, the actions by the urban poor have changed the structure of the housing market over time, leading to different niches within the housing market and distinct sets of urban poor dwellers. Since the different housing forms correspond to different advantages and disadvantages when it comes to displacement pressures, the development of different housing forms determines, to some extent, the specific strategies of the urban poor for dealing with displacement pressures.

These arguments are further fleshed out and given empirical support in chapter five where I adapt Boterman's [2012] application of Bourdieu's theory of economic, social, and cultural types of capital to analyze how the urban poor cope with displacement and why housing inequalities remain durable. As I demonstrate, the analytical similarities and the theoretical interlinkages between Bourdieu [2010], Boterman [2012], and my own research are profound. This congruence led me to define strategies as processes directed at improving or maintaining one's housing situation over time (i.e., anti-displacement strategies). Moreover, I also conceptualize strategies as, in many instances, routes of transition or relocation through different precarious housing forms towards reaching a permanent solution for adequate housing. Although strategies are applied locally to fit the historical, political, economic, cultural and social conditions of a city's urban relations, they can be clustered according to dominant strategies by the type of capital being deployed to deal with displacement.

Using the empirical data, I illustrated that urban poor strategically use certain forms of capital transactions, including trading-off economic expenses, participating in self-help networks, or using the legislative-legal system of housing policy. I found that the urban poor usually do not employ one single strategy but several strategies at once. Furthermore, based upon the analysis, I showed that the chosen strategies depend on the nexus between the mix of deployable capabilities and the characteristics of the housing forms themselves. In terms of the housing forms, preferences, restrictions and options to enter a particular housing sub-market differ, security of tenure differs, and dwellers of different housing forms tend to adopt different sets of strategies due to the nature and contextual history of housing conditions. In terms of the mix of capabilities, I showed that economic capital is not the only requirement, nor the most important form of capital for the urban poor to stay put. Instead, by a conjunction of different forms some of the research participants were able to avoid displacement or even improve their housing situation.

According to the analysis, the identified strategies to avoid displacement or improve housing are not positively impacting the urban poor or the housing environment in the long run. To account for this, in the second step of the analysis I argue that the majority of strategies align with the causes and reinforcement mechanisms of durable inequalities that Tilly identified. With “exploitation” as a systematic causal feature of housing inequality in contemporary, neoliberal capitalist housing markets, the urban poor are enacting this as well as the other processes that maintain durable housing inequalities – “opportunity hoarding,” “emulation,” and adaptation – when they transfer different types of capital in order to avoid displacement. Unfortunately, none of the new realities or recent developments in urban housing dynamics in the two cities indicate that the quality, security, or sustainability of housing for the urban poor is improving. This is not to say no battles have been won or that no individual situations have improved, but to say that the larger picture of housing inequalities warrants little optimism. Even when some new housing forms create assets in form of economic capital (e.g., land titles), the urban poor don’t seem to escape future displacement pressures. Therefore, although the anti-displacement strategies may temporarily ease displacement pressure, the durable inequalities of the housing market undermine substantial and sustainable change in the interest of the urban poor. If anything, housing quality, security of tenure, and the other everyday life experiences of the urban poor are becoming more precarious. Whether this prognosis is overly pessimistic remains to be seen.

Tilly was variously criticized for his theory of durable inequalities, but especially for neglecting human agency (see chapter two). Bourdieu’s account of types of capital also received criticism for being overly deterministic [e.g., Jenkins, 2002]. Although Tilly foresaw some opportunities for change when he claimed a “dual nature to change because of the four processes” [Tilly, 1999: 191], he painted a potentially very bleak picture of the outcomes of those changes. He argued that all four mechanisms themselves include a “self-reproducing element,” and when all four come together they represent a “self-reproducing complex”. So where does change come from within such a complex of durable inequalities?

Tilly suggests four different paths for achieving some change: a) "more of the same," b) "balkanization," c) "material equalization," and d) "new categories" [Tilly, 1999: 242 ff]. Summarizing these scenarios, we can argue that none of them really creates beneficial equity. ‘More of the same’ implies no change at all other than maybe for the worse. ‘Balkanization’ opens some degree of equalization, yet, increases vulnerability and division among the urban poor, which was seen to be undermining the effectiveness of anti-displacement strategies when taken to the smallest unit – the individual. ‘Material equalization’ can be considered akin to ‘affirmative action processes,’ which operate through targeting and thereby often generate further exclusion, or as a race to the bottom in

housing conditions. And 'new categories' can mean a shift within the categorical distinctions without the eradication of those distinctions in general. This pessimistic assessment is generally supported by the empirical data.

In fact, a "cycle of displacement" was be observed in many of the housing trajectories of the research partners in São Paulo and Istanbul. While the urban poor are highly creative and adaptable to survive the precarity of their social and physical location in the modern city, the goal of avoiding displacement or even finding adequate, sustainable housing has rarely been achieved and only by a small portion of research partners. The majority of housing trajectories are marked by constant threats of eviction and displacement with very few chances of obtaining access to adequate housing, let alone the opportunity to create some surplus of housing resources. In other words, positive a progression in the housing issue for the urban poor was not identified in this research. This accords with Bourdieu's [1990b: 63ff] notion of 'social life being a soccer game.' The rules of the game have not changed, perhaps the motivation of the players, but not the structure of the game itself, yet it is always object of improvisation.

As I profiled the strategies of the urban poor to cope with housing displacement, the structural durability of housing inequalities in the face of innovative approaches by the urban poor to challenge them became clear. One could even critically claim that because of exploitation, opportunity hoarding, emulation, and adaptation over the last century, the overall housing situation for the urban poor has progressed little since Engel's [1845/1974] early description of the urban poor in London. Sustainable and adequate housing solutions where the urban poor are not constantly threatened or affected by displacement requires major alterations in the structural conditions of housing. Above all, and being aware about the unrealistic nature of such an endeavor, the conditions of exploitation would need to be eliminated. Doing so would be tantamount to a revolution in the ruling principles of the housing market wherein housing is a private good, commodity that follows the logics of supply and demand for profit. Only with alterations in terms of making housing a public good -where equal rights to housing and baseline conditions are set- can durable inequalities and durable housing inequalities be effectively challenged.

This research has several limitations, some of which may be addressed by further study. First, the nature of the quantitative data is neither extensive nor representative. The housing sub-markets are expected to be even bigger and more differentiated than this exploratory research could show. Therefore, the survey data provides estimations and approximations more than clear answers. It should be noted, however, that this is a common limitation for data collection via surveys among precarious populations. Ideal study designs (e.g., longitudinal interview or survey, more survey distribution and collection efforts) were simply not feasible and the survey results did provide insights

into the respondents as well as the data collection process. Related to this issue and as I made clear in previous chapters, I did not find every housing niche existing in these urban areas and I was not granted access to every housing niche I learned about. For instance, I cannot speak to the refugees in Tarlabaşı although I assume that a highly specialized housing sub-market for the specific capabilities and resources of this particular group of urban poor has emerged.

In another vein, some of the concepts framed in this research, such as displacement pressures and quiet encroachment, are difficult to detect empirically with the methodological approach I applied. These concepts would benefit from further clarification in terms of definitions and empirical application but with the caution that they not become too narrow [e.g., Robinson, 2011, 2013, 2016]. Clearly, the limitations of the present study suggest many future lines of inquiry.

To highlight a few, while I remain convinced that the findings of this research illuminate some of the blurry lines of urban transformations, migration, and agency, I think that further research investigating housing sub-markets is warranted. I showed that housing forms differ but share specific features, but additional research can contribute to better understanding the underlying processes. Similarly, the 'tandem' character of spatial location and social position and how that impacts housing forms and sub-markets can be researched in greater detail.

Lastly, reflecting on the less than optimistic findings of this research, future research on social movements and the quiet encroachment of social nonmovements [Bayat, 2010] within the urban sphere and urban civil society writ large may offer distinct insights and paths for the structural transformation of durable housing inequalities. As Michael Burawoy [2005: 24], speaking then as president of the American Sociological Association, reminds us:

> "*If the standpoint of economics is the market and its expansion, and the standpoint of political science is the state and the guarantee of political stability, then the standpoint of sociology is civil society and the defense of the social. In times of market tyranny and state despotism, sociology—and in particular its public face—defends the interests of humanity*."

To "defend the interests of humanity," which undoubtedly includes the urban poor, I hope that advancing research in this field of study can point to ways of answering the pressing questions of how the housing situation for the millions of the urban poor in the cities of the world can be improved and sustained? And how can sociologists support the urban poor in their efforts to improve their life chances? These are only a few of the questions future research needs to address. Analyzing social processes, questions of power imbalances, exploitation, and the agency of the urban poor is only half of the story. We must also interrogate the other side of these dramatic inequalities – the actions of

the powerholders and decision-makers – in our search for opportunities to shift towards more equal and democratic urban societies.

7. Epilogue ‘Bu Su Hiç Durmaz’

When I started this research, I was eager to find clues akin to accounts stressing the long-present or growing but hidden agency of the urban poor, or even the more transgressive elements of contemporary urban dynamics. The accounts that come to mind include as David Harvey's [2013] analysis pointing to sorts of urban revolution in his book “Rebel City,” or Neil Brenner, Peter Marcuse and Margit Mayer’s [2011] elaboration of right to the city movements in “Cities for people, not profit.” It is fair to say that I wanted to find evidence that Tilly’s more pessimistic vision of durable inequalities was wrong or least insufficient with regards to the potential for radical challenges to this seemingly obdurate structure.

Against the backdrop of this analytic framework and my ambitions to contribute to such scholarship, I am reminded of a graffiti I came across in Istanbul during my initial weeks in the city. It was sprayed on a wall in a little alley usually only occupied parked cars close to İstiklal Caddesi and right around the corner from the entrance to Tarlabaşı. The graffiti caught my attention despite being somewhat additionally concealed behind one of the parked cars. I went closer to better see the image. It pictured open water, like a rough sea, with strong waves crashing on the top. Out of one of the waves in the middle, a human fist from a left hand emerged from of the water. In capital letters on top it said: BU SU HIÇ DURMAZ (the water does not stop running). Ever since I first saw it, that image remains lodged in my mind. Many times, up to the present, I have found myself reflecting on it in terms of my experiences in the field and the forms of durable inequality I encountered. In the first place, I assumed, without any doubt, that it probably had to do with the oppression of the Kurds by the Turkish government. As I continuously questioned the durability of durable housing inequalities by studying the responses of the urban poor and whether there is a chance for substantial change in favor of the millions of the poor, I started to also question if the image’s metaphor speaks to durable inequalities? With time, I realized that the image can be read in two opposing ways, which I discuss in what follows.

Over the course of my research, I thought I found evidence supporting the optimistic accounts identifying high chances for an uprising of the urban poor. However, during the data analysis process, I realized that the underlying processes and power of precariousness only eases temporarily – if at all – the myriad housing pressures the urban poor face. Centralizing historical developments in one’s perspective shows us that the housing question is still unanswered – it has neither been answered for the urban poor in the West nor for ‘the global rest.’ The problem of housing remains whether we look at the restructuring of Paris by Haussmann in the second half of the 19th century, at the "Arbeiterkasernen" (workers tenements) in 1920s Berlin, the evolution of cortiços in São Paulo and gecekondu settlements in Istanbul. Although housing "solutions" in certain terms, these developments have not substantially altered the housing conditions or the housing supply for the urban poor for the

better. At best, attempts to create housing opportunities over the years, most of the housing forms and developments that have emerged can be seen as elite-tolerated, if not elite-initiated, outcomes from housing transformations geared towards finding temporary solutions to accommodate the required labor forces for cities experiencing economic growth, especially industrial growth.

Indeed, as my dissertation concludes, drastic or revolutionary changes to these broad-scale dynamics in housing inequalities do not appear on the immediate horizon. In this light, the metaphor of unceasing water flows simply suggests "there will be always inequality." Regardless of efforts to stop the water from running on this course, it will always follow its physical condition. In other words, regardless of what the urban poor try to achieve, regardless of their strategies, inequalities will continue to reproduce themselves within and across societies over generations.

This perspective has its counter-point. The pessimistic view may be too limited for several reasons. Scrutinizing Tilly's [1999] account, we can also see that he argues no social structure ever works exactly as intended, foreseen, or proposed. To use his own words [Tilly, 1999: 52]:

> *"Designed, prescribed, and inherited social structures never work quite as their participants imagine they should or will. People make incessant mistakes; interactions produce unanticipated consequences […]".*

That means that forces beyond the control of the elites influence every structure, including the social structure of housing exploitation. To give a more specific example of how adaptation processes can change the system, Bayat [2010] offers the idea of "quiet encroachment". Although not directly referring to Tilly's concepts, Bayat's [2010: 46] definition suggests a subtle form of structural erosion through quiet encroachment starting from the ground level:

> *"[…] the silent, protracted, but persuasive advancement of the ordinary people on the propertied, powerful, or the public, in order to survive and improve their lives. They are marked by quiet, largely atomized and prolonged mobilization with episodic collective action -open and fleeting struggles without clear leadership, ideology or structured organization. […][I]t is also distinct from survival strategies or "everyday resistance" in that, first, the struggles and gains of the agents are not at the cost of fellow poor or themselves (as is the case in survival strategies), but of the state, the rich, and the powerful. […] In addition, these struggles are seen not necessarily as defensive merely in the realm of resistance, but cumulatively encroaching, meaning that the actors tend to expand their space by winning new positions to move on. By doing so, they establish new norms and practices on the ground."*

To summarize, he conceptualizes the urban poor (“ordinary people”) as a multitude that, despite their atomization or disorganization, mobilize along similar lines against the inequalities of systems that oppress or exploit them. This conceptualization makes possible an understanding of in a dual sense. On the one side, it points to actions that reinforce durable inequalities, but also, on the other side, to these same actions (i.e., forms of adaptation) are one of the forces decreasing, at least in the long run, the impacts of inequality.

Through expanding the range of action of opportunities for action, little by little over time the urban poor may gain some success in acquiring better housing in the long run. This is evident when comparing squatting as a strategy in São Paulo and Istanbul. With the limitations of such a comparison in mind, it is still possible to hypothesize that the constant processes of squatting and land occupation in São Paulo over many decades has shifted the *social* norm from “illegality” towards varying degrees of acceptance. Because squatting was once a common strategy in Istanbul (e.g. Gecekondus), but one that has not been routinely applied over time, especially recently, the social norm for such “illegal” approaches to informal housing has shifted against acceptance, even towards demonization. Quiet encroachment [Bayat, 2010], therefore, in the case of Istanbul demand the mobilization of new forms of capital and the processes of emulation and adaptation will change as well to continue toward the reduction of durable inequalities.

When looking at housing sub-markets, it can be argued that Tilly failed to include an important element in his theorization of durable inequalities; mainly that the notion that "constant dripping wears down the stone." Surely, on the surface, dynamics appear to follow his impression that adaptation processes primarily benefit the elite. However, with every little step urban poor take to encroach on this exploitation by improving their possibilities and opportunities, by making themselves visible despite the efforts of the elite to make them invisible, the dynamics might change in the longer term. Those ideas have been observable already to a certain degree, e.g. the Marxian idea of elites falling into the ranks of the poor and how that may shape long term dynamics or thinking of how malls in the U.S. are now shut down, abandoned places or how the housing bubble in the US and the financial crises internationally are calling attention to the short-term returns of global capital accumulation among the very, very rich, to name only a few.

Of course, it can be said that every single form of adaptation contains some resistance and innovation. Yet, in contrast to adaptation as simply avoiding further restrictions or oppression, for example, tactics of quiet encroachment by the urban poor are likely include ways of increasing their scope of agency. Such actions could include alliances with segments of the nonpoor who are also non-elite.

The pessimistic and optimistic sides of the coin having been outlined, quiet encroachment on its own does not represent change. It is in connection with Tilly's concept of scripting [Tilly, 199: 53f], or what Bayat more loosely calls "new norms and practices on the ground" [Bayat, 2010: 50], that changes towards better and more stable housing situations with fewer displacement pressures for the urban poor can come into being. As described by Tilly [1999: 8]: "Scripts range from the routines involved in such general configurations as triads and paired categories to the specific formulas people adapt to withdraw money". We can see the power of scripting when considering the basic idea that survival, achievement, and contestation strategies change over time. Tilly [1999: 8-9] argues that "[…] experience with those systems give different and unequal preparation for next". As I have shown in this dissertation, urban poor acquire different and innovative scripts to align their assets, norms and values within different housing forms. In other words, they prepare themselves with a particular set of knowledge, sometimes cultural and symbolic capital, that they turn into lines of action to make the system work for them. FLM in São Paulo, for example, has established overt policies – aiming towards gender equality, political participation, solidarity, and class identity building, to name a few – that serve as institutionalized scripts for the dwellers within their movement. As a result, the urban poor in FLM are more likely to incorporate these values into their other decision-making and actions, into other scripts on which they can claim additional rights or equality.

Whether or not such scripting and quiet encroachment are sufficient tools for the urban poor to break through the system of durable housing inequalities is question for future research. The findings of this research point towards the idea that they are necessary but not sufficient for securing housing and finding solutions for better housing in the near future, at least insofar as the mechanisms of durable inequalities continue to work for the elite in São Paulo and Istanbul.

This more pessimistic assessment is, however, the more material, empirical side of the story at the sites of research. There is still a side of this research, namely the gathering and exchange of what I would call 'grey' knowledge between the researcher and the population on the ground, which is difficult to support empirically. By grey knowledge I mean the emotions, the atmosphere, and the belief in a better future many participants shared with me in personal interactions outside of recorded interviews or participatory observation during the course of the research. By grey knowledge I also mean all the intersecting structures, competencies, decision-making processes, and unobservable factors that remain in the black box of social behavior and cognition and outside of the scope of the empirical evidence I could accrue in this research project.

To illustrate this grey knowledge side of the story in the context of displacement, it behooves us to reflect on the process of physical displacement. Relocation from place A to place B is a process of transition. Leaving a place with its distinctive built environment, social strata, cultural habits,

economic possibilities, and so forth to relocate to a less well known or unknown terrain requires adjustment time. Many of the urban poor moving into the cities of São Paulo or Istanbul are from the countryside, either first or second generation, looking for labor within the urban centers. It is possible to identify different stages of transition between a "rural poor habitus" and an "urban poor habitus" by looking into the personal trajectories of the dwellers involved in this research. Take the example of one of the older couples I worked with in Istanbul: Fatma and Osman.

Fatma and Osman entered Istanbul many years ago through the gecekondu neighborhood of Ayazma. While living there, among a more or less homogenous group of other recently arrived, urban poor, they transferred or translates specific forms of rural living into their new urban household:

> *"We were baking our own bread. Let's say it was the simplest loaf of village bread. You know village bread, baked bread? Bread is a Lira! One loaf is one lira! In one house with four people, on average 6-7 loaves of bread are [eaten] a day. It costs 6-7 lira! People would come together there and have a conversation, they would share their lives with each other. We always talked and knew what was going on. There were no strangers."* [Fatma and Osman, Istanbul, 1: 6]

Once they became displaced, forced to move into a newly built, high-rise TOKKI building, they also felt the loss of their rural lifestyle as reformulated in the gecekondu.

More than upon their initial relocation to Istanbul, Fatma and Osman had to transition from a rural poor identity or lifestyle towards an urban poor identity.

> *"But, social life here is kind of...different. Life in a complex and huge building like this, compared to life in a shanty, is as different as black and white. You will ask why? Because a shanty is a small place! It's a spacious place but it's small. Let's say there are around 20-25 houses in our old neighborhood. When you went to work, you could immediately see four or five neighbors. When you came home, you could see almost all your neighbors. When you don't see [someone] for two days, [you think], what happened? But here is not like that! This place appears empty. At that moment when you leave your apartment or when you leave the elevator, you don't see anyone. For example, I have been here since the end of 2007. […] It's been 8 years. I am here for so long, but I don't know anyone."* [Fatma and Osman, Istanbul, 1: 7]

The processes of displacement and certainty the experience of it, did not stop in the TOKKI high-rise. In the face of continuously increasing expenditures for electricity, water and gas and a life-threatening disease diagnosis, Osman and Fatma are struggling to make ends meet their needs. Further, the interest rate for their apartment loan has increased as well. Now they are confronting displacement again because they cannot afford these overlapping costs.

In response to new (but not unfamiliar) displacement processes, Fatma and Osman described applying different strategies from those that worked during their time in Ayazma. While in the Ayazma gecekondu, they tried to organize the community, somewhat successfully, through the daily routines of a shared rural lifestyle past. Without these former routines or scripts fitting with the high-rise social conditions and after becoming more socially isolated due to fluctuating social encounters in their direct urban neighborhood, they began attempting more individual approaches to get themselves out of trouble. These were stated as individual negotiations, only looking after themselves and not others in ‘trouble’, and considering selling the apartment.

Fatma and Osman’s story is similar to one shared with me in São Paulo. A young woman from the countryside, Katia her name, who had just recently moved into a favela by herself found herself threatened by eviction via demolition. Not knowing what to do, lacking urban savvy or experience, she directed her efforts at staying put and ended up homeless for several months. During her period of homelessness, as she became acquainted with urban survival strategies among the similarly homeless and eventually managed to get in touch with a housing movement. From this exchange, she learned about the larger housing struggle and eventually participated in the occupation of an abandoned building in the Centro—something she could have never imagined in her former life.

These two ordinary examples of displacement can be examined for anti-displacement action strategies, forms of capital, and housing inequality mechanisms. We can illustrate the housing trajectories displayed and pinpoint particular events in the lives of these urban poor, but those insights are actually very limited. They do not provide, at least not easily, an answer to why they struggled. Why didn’t they give up? What prevented them from a position of inaction, a position where they became so desperate that they could not take challenging actions? While scholars develop theories to explain the decision-making processes, social dynamics, and power relations impacting the behavior of the poor (or people in general), the limited options for progress and the obstacles faced in such accounts do not fully explain what it is that makes the urban poor strong enough to deal with the difficulties of everyday life. While in the field, I repeatedly asked myself where single mothers, for instance, gain their strength to get up in the morning in addition to caring and providing for their children? How does one find the strength to get up and keep living when one lives in a run-down building, in a room shared with several other people or families, in the dirt suffering from malnutrition and disease exposures? Amidst these obstacles and housing displacement pressures, beyond why, in what ways does one-struggle to stay put as opposed to giving up?

Not all among the urban poor are living in these worst of circumstances. However, considering the urban poor as a heterogeneous group affected by poverty, unstable housing is a tremendous challenge. As my research and the aforementioned examples show, most people facing unreliable

housing or imminent relocation are fighting for progress, in their own terms, and many are more than willing to share their experiences. While I questioned why anyone should bother to answer my questions to help me trying to understand their life world, I was met with numerous interlocutors who wanted to share their stories. I found people wanting to reach the decision-makers through scholarship like my own. I found people open to a variety of possibilities for shifting broader social, academic, and political norms about the seemingly powerless in urban dynamics.

Most of what I encountered was trust, honestly, curiosity and a strong will to make things better – the voices of survival in a sea of cruelty and exploitation, and the desire to be heard in the sea of inequalities that can be silencing. During my research, I have predominantly encountered a sort of power among the people I never knew before. I saw solidarity, kindness, and visions for a better life in many of the dwellers in the housing forms I visited. Across many contexts I was impressed by the creativity deployed in adapting to exploitation and oppression. Again, these actions by the urban poor were not dominated by strategies for giving up, but by strategies for finding little niches for agency given temporary or long-term survival pressures – whether in the domain of labor, housing, health, or happiness. Although such impressions altered my perceptions of social justice and ascription versus achievement in modern social system, they are difficult to encapsulate empirically and prove in terms of mechanisms. How does one adequately measure the motivation to get out of bed in the morning each day? Even including measures for depression, across contexts, how can scholars accurately estimate what it is human nature that blocks a person from giving up? Putting amorphous definitions of survival aside, how can we explain the strength or courage of so many urban poor, affected by displacement and the loss or impermanence of the little they have, to fight against oppression and exploitation in their own lives and amongst themselves?

The grievances and obstacles to mobilization on the part of the poor have been given such extreme attention as ubiquitous that the necessity of counter-actions are given too little attention. Whether facing police brutality in cases of eviction, state oppression when claiming housing rights, or being ‘stubborn’ enough to make the news and gain attention for not being silent and invisible, the movement or non-movement [Bayat, 2010] activities speak volumes. Scholars might not be able to formulate answers explaining these actions. Perhaps they reflect questions that contemporary scholarly activity can't address adequately because we are talking about feelings, emotions and motivations taking place in a black box outside of rational decision-making processes and alongside ubiquitous pressures. Put differently, we need to be talking about the hope and the will of the people to change their lives for the better through everyday actions that fight against inequalities. We need not only recognize the narrative of David versus Goliath, but also show what this fight looks like on the ground of live experience.

Here, the second more positive interpretation of the metaphor from the graffiti becomes more strikingly visible. That is, regardless of the obstacles, water will always flow across inequalities; regardless of its derivations or points of origin, the urban poor will find ways to survive. Additionally, as the picture of the more or less open water streams can symbolize, if the water accumulates in greater amount, it will have a bigger force. That interpretation brings us back to Bayat’s [2010: 21], notion of quiet encroachment as rainfall. He argues that one water drop does not make a difference, but when it rains it can really pout in ways that bring change:

> *“Whereas each act, like single drops of rain, singularly makes only individual impact, such acts produce larger spaces of alternative practices and norms when they transpire in big numbers - just as the individual wetting effects of billions of raindrops join up to generate creeks, rivers, and even floods and waves […].*

Such cascades of resistance in their various forms, therefore, and as imagined by some urban scholars cum activists, are one aspect of urban struggle. Scott [1987: 301] similarly argued in "Weapons of the weak", that it will not be a revolution of the weak that we should seek as academics. Instead, I would argue profound social change for the better of the urban poor might be possible, against the odds of exploitation, through small little transgression, through the micro scale of resistance fueled by the will and the beliefs of the urban poor that can create changes towards the better over time.

8. References

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